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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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31 January 1984

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INTERNATIONAL

USA INSTITUTE AIDE, ARCHBISHOP INTERVIEWED ON U.S. ATTITUDES TO RUSSIANS

Moscow VEK XX I MIR in Russian No 10, Oct 83 pp 40-48

[Interview with Archbishop Pitirim, professor of the Moscow Theological Academy, and Eduard Batalov, chief of the Political Ideology Sector of the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by staff correspondent I. Remov; date and place not specified]

[Text] Reasonable relations worthy of man of peace cannot be built without trust between peoples. Talking about this in an interview without our staff correspondent I. Remov are Archbishop Pitirim, professor of the Moscow Theological Academy, and Eduard Batalov, chief of the Political Ideology Sector of the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

[Question] Permit me to begin our conversation with one report from the United States, which is rather interesting to us, the Soviet people. It is, actually, a result of one public opinion poll, during which the Americans were asked: "Do you trust the Russian?" Well, many of them responded that they do not trust the Soviet people, to whom they refer to as the Russians, either because of inclination toward simplification or convenience. What thoughts, what feelings are aroused in you by this report! And one more thing: there are Americans among your acquaintances. Did you feel this distrust on their part?

Archbishop Pitirim: Quite recently, here in this office there was a 34-member delegation of the U.S. National Council of Churches of Christ. Its members saw our country and our people for the first time. We had a most interesting discussion, during which the guests not only asked but also requested us to ask questions. One of our female associates asks: "Why is hatred toward everything Russian, Soviet being spread so persistently in the United States?"

[Question] It is interesting, what was the answer?

Archbishop Pitirim: The answer contained a reference to propaganda, the history of relations between our countries. To us, that is those against whom this propaganda is directed, the answer is clear, since we have the possibility to compare that which is being said about us with that which is actually happening here. On the face of it, there exists a strange illness which has been hidden

somewhere in the depth of the Western society already for more than 60 years. I would have have named the virus that provokes it as a virus of intimidation. The hysterical cry "The Russians are coming! The Russians are approaching Washington! The Russians are invading Colorado State!"--this is a real bugbear for an ordinary American.

[Question] However, there were other periods in the relations between our countries. For example, during World War II when we were allies...

Archbishop Pitirim: Yes, at that time Russian heroism, Stalingrad were symbols of military valor, and Leningrad and its 900-day blockade were symbols of civic courage. The Russians were always heroes in the broadest sense. At the same time, already towards the end of the war a powerful propaganda machine strived to discredit both the Russians and the victory of the Red Army in the eyes of American public opinion. Later on it was the "cold war," when everything Russian, Soviet was provided with features of enmity with the help of means of mass information. To this day there exists an artificially created portrait of Soviet man, which does not have anything in common with reality.

[Question] Did you feel this during personal meetings with the Americans?

Archbishop Pitirim: From trips and meetings, and from experience of my 30-year long international work I have derived a somewhat different impression. I have not come across even once against manifestations of hostility or suppressed distrust, which would have come about as a result of the contacts themselves, with the exception of those instances when they were especially staged. Yes, there were some poorly represented demonstrations and posters that were suitable for the political moment, but the audience that I had to deal with, regardless if it was student, Catholic or Protestant, never reacted in a negative or hostile manner to the fact of the contact itself. It is no accident that the propaganda machine, which has created the image of a Russian enemy, guards its population in such a manner against real contact with our people: the image of the Russian, Soviet man created by it will surely change as a result of these interrelationships. One becomes convinced in this when receiving guests here, in Russia. Preparations for a meeting, I was told by acquaintances from abroad, proceed in an atmosphere of nervous tension, expectation of unpleasantness; afterwards it turns out that a meeting with perfectly normal and sometimes likable people awaited them; and later on--parting as with friends, voluntary pledges to maintain spiritual contacts!

[Question] In other words, we are talking about how important it is to know each other. It seems to me that the problem of reliable, true information is no less acute than the well-known global problems, such as war and peace, ecology and so forth. The more acutely they come up before us, the more important is mutual understanding for all of us, and along with it the gaining of trust. Here it will be appropriate to recall the report prepared in May this year in Washington on questions of education, since education is the foundation for understanding the world. The conclusion of its authors is as follows: the level of the education system is so low that an impression is created as if it was forced upon the United States by some hostile forces abroad.

Archbishop Pitirim: It is unfortunate that as regards the idea of history of Russia, the Soviet Union and the character of the country and the people, then one is forced to speak not of lack of knowledge but of ignorance. For an ordinary American the history of Russia is linked with victories of the communist movement in the world, for them the Russians are bearers of communist ideas, which allegedly threaten the self-centered prosperity of an individual, the downfall of the order of political and social foundations established for them and the collapse of the entire Western civilization. However, I have had occasion many times of coming across ignorance not only of Russian history but of history of the European civilization as well, that is history of those countries from where the ancestors of the young people, who listened to me at American universities, came from. The seeds of hostility and distrust are planted in this soil of ignorance and, as we can see, bear extremely abundant sprouts.

Generally speaking, the question of creation, existence and support of that which in the West is referred to as the "image of the enemy in political and social life" is an important question not only for the United States but West European countries as well, and, perhaps, other countries of which, unfortunately, I know less. It is precisely because of this that an urgent task of all peacemaking forces is developing as broadly as possible an open exchange of such genuinely spiritual values which are possessed by man today. Including by Russian, Soviet man.

[Question] That of which you were talking about now is basically connected with your experience and knowledge. But I would like to ask what you feel after realizing that many of the Americans polled do not trust you and your countrymen? I won't conceal that I was offended after reading about this.

Archbishop Pitirim: First of all, I feel profound pity for these people, and this feeling is defined both by my humanistic and ecclesiastical-pastoral views. And what is more, perhaps, I feel natural indignation as felt by all people faced with an atrocious phenomenon, the distortion and stupidity of a product either of nature or human spirit. For me man's attitude toward the surrounding world is the creation of his spirit. Any encroachment upon it evokes both pity and anger in the soul, as any moral deformity makes us regret as well as shout in indignation at what has been perpetrated. Something must be changed for the better. The international activity of the Russian Orthodox Church is directed so that through numerous contacts, which we are establishing with believers and various organizations abroad, we can show the true content of our spiritual and moral values.

It is necessary to make the spiritual values obvious to every man who wants to see them. The detrimental psychology, which causes conflicts in many parts of the world, including terrorism, originates, first of all, from the negation of human existence, human life. Of course, crime has always existed, and fratricide began, as it is well known, when Cain murdered his brother Abel. Why did he murder him? Not because of any ideological motives, but because of envy. A commonplace envy--why does he have something that I do not? It is terrible when such base motives become a norm of human relations, when they are even declared as though a direction of the entire policy!

[Question] If you do not have objections, let us return to what we were discussing--about the Russian, Soviet man, his spiritual values. What kind of a person is he thought to be abroad, and what kind a person he thinks he is himself.

Archbishop Pitirim: This is a difficult question. I had to talk precisely on the same subject at one of the international meetings. I said something as follows at that time: If you could only realize how wonderful, how inexpressibly wonderful it is to be and to be aware of oneself being a Russian. But if you could only know how difficult it is!.. You are asking about what is the idea of a Russian man, and what he thinks he is himself... Dostoyevskiy, you may recall, has words about a Russian man: "Man is expansive! I would have restricted him." The expansiveness and depth of spiritual emotions of a Russian man is sometimes simply incomprehensible in the West. Russian daring, Russian spaciousness and Russian sincerity--this is not a free poetic image, this is a psychological stereotype attending Russian history in all its stages and phenomena.

[Question] Incidentally, many foreigners after visiting the Soviet Union note that the "Russians are ingenuously hospitable, well disposed and frank." According to Englishman (R. Tolhurst), who was recently published in our journal, "of all European peoples, the Russians are probably the most friendly nation. Competent sources confirm that this was also so before the revolution."

Archbishop Pitirim: The question is, is it naivete? It is simply the spirituality of nature, the feeling of strong nature that is not tormented by unnecessary fears and suspicions. But in the same Russian daring and spaciousness there are not only courage but also kindness and tenderness, as in the sculpture to a Soviet soldier-liberator in Berlin's Treptow park: the Soviet soldier holds a sword in one hand and a small child in another. Tenderness and bravery, gentleness and firmness are remarkably combined in the nature of Russian man, I would even say that they are inherent, so to speak, in its genetic code.

[Question] You said "genetic code." I doubt if the geneticists will agree with this, but I understand what you had in mind. Could you recall in this connection any meeting, events which would coincide or would be in harmony with this conditional code?

Archbishop Pitirim: I had an occasion to participate in a church meeting which was held in Hamburg in 1981 and had a brief and memorable slogan "Do not fear!" This Hamburg Kirchentag (church day) was held in an atmosphere of an upsurge in the antinuclear and antimissile movement of the West German public, particularly among the youths, in the heart of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. This was their response to propaganda of the horrors of "flooding Western Europe with Soviet tanks," and the most important at that meeting was the demonstration of a need for trust and the necessity to eliminate fear. The Gospel has remarkable, wise words to the effect that during that last stage of world existence, when the cataclysm will become inevitable, people will be exhausted from fear of expected disasters and that this fear is worthy of all sorts of regret. That is not only disasters are disasters, but fear is also a disaster, since it corrupts the soul, demoralizes. A man is capable of losing self-control

not only as a result of real threat but by fearing it alone. I am not talking now of the threat of a nuclear war, but about the imaginary threat fostered in the West which ostensibly must be opposed by any means, up to a nuclear war. In general, evil very often resorts to imaginary fears, to intimidation. The contemporary international situation is aggravated by satanic forces, which are striving to demoralize the spiritual strength of man. It must be opposed not only by the monolith of healthy political forces, but also by that spiritual experience which has been accumulated in the struggle against human weakness, against faintheartedness and skepticism. We all must be tireless in instilling dignity and high spiritual values in man.

One of humanity's tragedies is ignorance, which is due to elementary egoism: "I do not know the surrounding world, because I don't need it, because it is of no concern to me; I have my own interests, and any kind of missiles are no obstacle to them because they are outside my world."

[Question] Man--a measure of all things. How do you regard this ancient thesis? After all it can be interpreted in such a manner as to justify the opinion of a most egoistical philistine. In his own words it can justify any selfishness.

Archbishop Pitirim: Yes, here one should be afraid of substitution of the concept. In a developed Christian conception, the ancient principle says that every man is a whole world. But the problem is that in a cooperative society the conception of "man" itself has been subjected to strong inflation, and a degradation of spiritual wealth has occurred. A man reaches the full measure of his development and becomes a measure of all things only when he rises above his commonness and philistinism, his consumer nature. There are things which divide people in an extremely realistic manner, such as world outlook or, let us say, state borders. But there is also something that should unite us forever--manifestations of the highest measure of spirituality. Man today, I think you will agree, is, above all, a co-man.

[Question] I will agree, but you see what a strange thing occurs: a Christian and, as he makes it understood, a zealous Christian displays before the whole world his intolerance, it may even be said hatred toward others precisely because they are of another ideological belief. You understand, of course, that I have the U.S. president, R. Reagan in mind. At one time, another president, F. Roosevelt, had written in his speech (he was unable to deliver it): for salvation of civilization we must develop a science on human relations. Today, we have to deal with a science or rather a practice of destruction of human and interstate relations, which are being implemented by another President. It is precisely in the direction of our country that R. Reagan pointed his finger when he talked about the existence of an "empire of evil," when he declared a "crusade." His "monsters," that is you and I, are those "treacherous and malicious" Russians of the mass propaganda who "cannot be trusted."

Archbishop Pitirim: All of this is really strange and makes me think about the moral health of such people. I recall coming across such words in one sketch which described the actions of a hero: this is due to the ill breeding of the heart. The President's words say to us once more that the spirit of isolation,

that is any separatism--ethnic, historical, political, social and professional--inevitably leads to egoism and egocentrism, since it makes it impossible to see anything around oneself and in particular to explain to oneself something that is strange.

[Question] I will cite another quotation from the church usage, which is also widely known in the world: Time to cast stones and time to collect stones. We are talking to you about our time, which threatens people with trouble, and about people who are doing something or doing nothing at all to prevent it. We are talking about trust between people... Don't you think that the time has come to collect the stones of human values, which were scattered so carelessly in the past? The question is, which stones of our common values must be, in our opinion, placed in the body of the dam that resists the flood of destruction, hostility and aggressiveness?

Archbishop Pitirim: The first impulse of our common movement against the threat of war was protest and disagreement, which conceals a well-known potential weakness that is being counted on by its opponents. Here the law of action and counteraction comes into force, and therefore with the weakening, changing or--which is even more dangerous--some kind of an unexpected turning point in this threat, the counteraction movement may weaken or fade away. That is why we must constantly remind of the positive independent value of the antinuclear, antiwar movement, since this is a movement of responsibility for good neighborliness and peace. The building of security begins with the laying of a stone in the corner from which a wall is extended to the right and to the left, under a large or a smaller corner, semicircular or straight. The walls are covered with a roof and thus a safe human dwelling appears in which everyone will find a place near the warm hearth. The idea of housebuilding is close to the Russian people; their entire historic structure is not chasing after wild mustangs but constant construction of a house which, unfortunately, was very rapidly demolished. Very often--since the times of Teutons and Tatar-Mongols, during the time of Napoleon, in the years of World War I, during the years of intervention by 14 states which intervened in our civil war and during the bloody years of fascist aggression--our house was demolished by war. So the Russian people have many more reasons for feeling distrust toward others than anyone else. But we do not plan to scatter the stones of distrust throughout the world...

[Question] The question is now for you, Eduard Yakovlevich: What is your attitude toward the report that many Americans, who were polled by the Harris service, do not trust the Russians?

Eduard Batalov: Of course, this makes one think. And these thoughts are quite sad. I only think that there is no sense in making the cited data unconditional. Moods in the American society change quite rapidly. Polls--they are a social seismogram. They register, first of all, the moods and not the convictions. They are not the relatively deep and stable notions, but precisely moods colored with emotions and bearing the mark of the moment on themselves. As new winds begin to blow--warm or cold--Gallup and Harris begin to record new moods and obtain new data. Much also depends on how the question was posed, in what context. This is well known by specialists.

[Question] Nevertheless... Despite all fluctuations in moods, something probably can be said about a general trend in the attitude of the Americans toward the Soviet Union and the Soviet people. After all there are predominant winds which are characteristic of the political climate...

Eduard Batalov: Of course. Especially as the statistics of the cause of the phenomenon itself are more interesting. It is important to understand why many Americans look upon us as enemies... You are aware that rather solid literature as regards volume has already been accumulated on the principles of perception of one subject of international relations by another. Today, this question has become--or, perhaps, it is better to say is becoming--a subject of scientific research. It is being ascertained that certain regularities are in force here. The history of mutual relations, traditions, interests, correlation of forces, character of the social system and some other factors determine the "glasses" through which one state looks at another during one or another stage...

[Question] But if we talk about the "people on the street" who were polled by Harris and not about the state and politicians? What determines their perception of the other side, the other people?

Eduard Batalov: I will begin by supporting the opinion expressed here: one of the reasons of the distorted idea about our country is ignorance. Let us, for example, take the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union. Combining high-mindedness with flexibility, our country has undertaken attempt after attempt to find ways to achieve agreements with the United States on strategic arms, on the so-called Euromissiles and so forth. Are the contents of Soviet proposals known by an ordinary American reader or television viewer? Alas, no. Only some scraps which do not provide a clear and full idea of the other side's position. This does not apply to an ordinary American alone! Experience proves that our proposals are not always well known even by people who are concerned with policy in their official capacity. All of this happens against the background of daily repeated rhetoric about America's "weakness," about the need of urgent pumping up of military muscles in the face of the terrible danger which threatens it. It is difficult to form a correct idea about the other side in such an atmosphere.

[Question] You are talking about current policy...

Eduard Batalov: I have been repeatedly convinced of the fact that they have a vague idea of Russian history in the West. They do not know very well how the formation of Soviet society occurred--its tenor of life, culture and political principles. They have heard something, have read something. Ivan the Terrible, Peter I, Siberia, Dostoyevskiy, Stalin... Individual names, titles and events but no integrated idea. With such a superficial, fragmentary knowledge it is difficult to understand the other people's destiny, actions and intentions and difficult to "read" the motives of actions undertaken by the other side.

It was stated here that the hysterical cry "The Russians are coming!" puts many Americans in trepidation. But do they, these Americans, know the history

of Russia's relations with the West? It is possible that they know that the boot of a Russian or a Soviet soldier never trampled upon the American soil, but do they know that the United States along with Great Britain, France and some other countries participated in the Entente's intervention against Soviet Russia?

I won't say that citizens of our country are all brilliant experts of American and West European history and astute political analysts. We sometimes also, probably, do not know something essential and underestimate or do not understand something enough owing to ignorance. Nevertheless, we know much more about America and its history and policy than America knows about the Soviet Union.

[Question] A question suggests itself: Isn't this ignorance not as much "natural" as consciously and intentionally cultivated? An ignorant person is easier to control.

Eduard Batalov: Undoubtedly. Schoolchildren study by textbooks, but the textbooks are compiled by adults who consciously conceal something or, which is worse, consciously distort something. Unfortunately, much is being distorted. And not only by authors of school textbooks. For there are forces in America, for whom it is simply profitable to have citizens of that country to experience fear of the Soviet Union: it is easier to pull through a multibillion military budget and easier to create an atmosphere of a "military camp," which is to be subjected to an attack at any moment by an enemy armed to his teeth.

There is still one more important feature, which influences the character of perception of our country by the Americans. You have probably noted how often Reagan mentions in his speeches that we are atheists. I did not calculate it especially, but believe that he talks about this even more than his predecessor Carter, who was reputed to be a pious president. Why does he do it?

[Question] Probably he tries to present things in such a manner as if the world is divided between the "evil" people--the atheists--and the best part of humanity (headed by himself)--the believers.

Eduard Batalov: It is precisely so. After all, the majority of Americans are believers or regard themselves as such. For many of them all virtues are unequivocally and strictly connected with the belief in God. A believer does good and is always right, an atheist is a dangerous person or altogether a scoundrel. The more so if he is a communist. I won't say that all American believers think this way, but many do. Such mentality has difficulty in imagining that a person who does not believe in God can be moral. Incidentally, in mentioning "Russian atheists," Reagan usually does not miss a chance to accuse us of amorality, asserting that we recognize as moral only that which contributes to the success of our cause.

[Question] In other words, the opposition of two world outlooks is substituted with a general mobilization of the West for a "crusade" war in the spirit of the Middle Ages. The morals, characteristic of the "communist enemies," are also expounded in conformity with this goal.

Eduard Batalov: Yes, and in this exposition there is no hint that the principles, values and norms of communist morals have a profound humanistic character. That along with class values we also recognize moral values common to mankind. That citizens of our country are trained not only in the spirit of patriotism but also in the spirit of devotion to the ideals of peace and friendship between peoples, including between the Soviet and American people. Instead of this there is a rude, clumsily worked out caricature. And this, regrettably, has an effect on a part of the listeners.

But then, there is another circumstance here which requires an explanation. You know, it often happens that in coming across something that is different from one's own--be it morals, religion, artistic principles or something else--people become guarded or even hostile to that which they cannot understand and which is strange. This is more than true when the question concerns the Americans. During the entire period of their history they were brought up in the spirit of a notion of "American exceptional nature." The first postwar years, when the United States turned out to be the most powerful, the richest and the most developed capitalist power in the scientific-technical sense, have only strengthened their notion of the priority of everything American. During the sixties-seventies, some things in this regard began to change. But still, somewhat hardening the situation for clarity, I would say that the Americans have not yet learned to regard other people's views, other people's values and other people's way of life with due respect and have not gotten rid yet of making their own values, positions and views absolute. Everything that does not correspond to their own standards is sometimes perceived as untrue or hostile.

[Question] It seems to me that it is more important that such a habit of perceiving the world is fraught with a policy attempting to remake this world to fit own tastes and own morals in the style of "retro."

Eduard Batalov: You are right, the old way of thinking, old stereotypes give rise to splashes of nostalgia for bygone days, which are often seen through rose-colored glasses. Today, incidentally, we are observing such a splash in the United States. But, of course, sooner or later the U.S. leaders will have to learn to respect values which are alien to them and not regard those who support such values as their enemies. But then, this does not apply to the Americans alone. The saying "the world is crowded," if it is interpreted in the international plan, reflects most precisely the developed situation today. To live in this close intimacy in peace with others--and there is no reasonable alternative to this--it is obviously necessary to learn how to be more patient toward others.

[Question] After all, the Helsinki accords exist in reality and the principles of peaceful coexistence have been tested in practice... Well, but how do you imagine a possible evolution of the Americans' attitude toward our country and with what this evolution may be connected?

Eduard Batalov: Predictions are an extremely thankless undertaking and, it must be said, not always useful. It happens that gloomy predictions also come true. However, if seriously, the most important, I think, is not to go to extremes.

The remaining months of the current year should clarify much. If the Americans deploy their missiles in Europe, then the developed situation, of course, will not promote improvement of mutual understanding and growth of friendly feelings. If there emerges a relaxation of the international situation, then most than anything else it will also have a beneficial effect on the relations between the two countries and will remove the mutual distrust to some extent. It is difficult, of course, to expect that all Americans would understand us correctly and will become fond of us. And we do not expect this. But expansion of contacts between our countries, the entry of detente into a new phase, a more reasonable policy on the part of the American Administration and new scale and forms of the antiwar peace-loving movement on both sides of the Atlantic, in the East as well as in the West, and this also means an abatement of the anti-Soviet wave in the United States, could help the Americans in understanding that we are not their enemies.

Here I would like to return to the poll with which we began our conversation. The Harris service bulletin, from which the aforementioned fact was taken, has an interesting conclusion, which is worth quoting. "However, the existing suspicion and distrust do not exclude the striving for reaching an agreement with the Russians on the question of nuclear arms control, cultural and scientific exchange and expansion of trade between the two countries, and a substantial majority of Americans have expressed themselves in favor of this." Take note--"a substantial majority of Americans" are striving, as a matter of fact, for normalization of relations between our two countries, which is actually what we want.

[Question] But does the Reagan Administration want it?

Eduard Batalov: This is an instance when the people think with more common sense than their leaders. This common sense inspires a certain optimism. Because I am convinced that if there are broader and deeper contacts then there will be more mutual understanding. It is one thing to have an abstract image of a "Red," which was developed and disseminated by propaganda, and something else when it is a personal contact experience, which strikes down or at least loosens the old stereotypes and old prejudices. When an American sees that the "Russians" are normal people like everyone else, like himself, he will stop seeing an enemy in them and will be less apprehensive of a power which they represent. So let us not respond with fear to fear, with hostility to hostility. Let us search for ways to the mind and heart of the other. Let us be persistent and patient.

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INTERNATIONAL

VAAP CHAIRMAN DOLGOV ON CURRENT AGREEMENTS WITH FOREIGN AUTHORS

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Sep 83 p 6

[Interview with Konstantin Mikhaylovich Dolgov, chairman of the board of VAAP, the All-Union Copyright Agency, by special correspondent S. Taroshchina, under the rubric LG Interview: "Horizons of a Businesslike Cooperation"; date and place not specified]

[Text] A recent event was the tenth anniversary of the founding of VAAP, at a founders' conference which included all of the nation's literary and artistic unions, the USSR Academy of Sciences, Goskomizdat, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and a number of other ministries and departments. On this significant occasion VAAP board chairman K. M. Dolgov responds to the questions of our special correspondent S. Taroshchina.

[Question] Konstantin Mikhaylovich, what, in your opinion, are the principal results of the agency's activities during the last decade?

[Answer] The creation of VAAP was a logical result of the USSR's entry into the Universal (Geneva) Copyright Convention. Linking the Soviet Union to the international copyright system was one of the Soviet government's concrete steps toward the strengthening of peace and trust among peoples, a consistent implementation of the policy of promoting international cooperation and detente.

In accordance with its charter the agency is called upon to secure the ethical and pecuniary rights of Soviet and foreign authors in the use of their works in the territory of the USSR, as well as the rights of Soviet authors and their successors in the use of their works in other countries. It is also called upon to make every possible contribution to the development of international cultural cooperation and the exchange of spiritual values among nations and peoples. In carrying out the responsibilities it has assumed, the Soviet side has made certain changes in national legislation with respect to the rights of authors.

During the years of the agency's work, contracts have been signed for export and import rights for publication and performance of almost 60,000 works of science, literature and art, the overwhelming majority of which have already been published or performed on the stage, radio or television in the USSR and

other countries. Thanks to the participation of VAAp in international cultural exchange, the publication of translated literature in the USSR and foreign countries has expanded noticeably. Thus, while 1,587 translated works of foreign literature were published in our country in 1976, in 1982 there were 2,059, a significant number of them being works of contemporary authors. And so the establishment of VAAp marked the opening of new vistas in the development of an international exchange of spiritual values.

[Question] Could you explain with concrete examples the significance of these figures? Of course, the readers of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA are interested primarily in reciprocal literary translation programs.

You very appropriately used the word "reciprocal." The principle of reciprocity is one of the basic ones in our work with our foreign partners, although I must emphasize that for objective reasons, cultural, economic and so on, this principle must not be reduced to simple parity. The most fruitful developments are in our traditional ties with the publishing houses of the socialist nations. During the past decade more than ten thousand export and import contracts have been signed with our partners from socialist states for the publication of literary works and art books. A notable event in the spiritual life of the countries of the socialist fellowship has been the appearance of such works as the multivolume "Victory Library" and collections and series of the literatures of the fraternal nations.

Since the USSR joined the Universal (Geneva) Copyright Convention, more works of writers from Western nations have been published in our country, and in the West more works of Soviet writers. During these years about five thousand Soviet literary works have become accessible to readers in Western countries. By agreement with VAAp the Bertelsmann publishing firm (FRG) has published works of contemporary Soviet prose in German. Twenty-one books have appeared. The Macmillan Publishing Corporation (U.S.A.) through arrangements with VAAp has concluded 120 agreements for translation of works of Soviet science fiction writers. Twenty books have been published, containing more than eighty works. The well-known Japanese publishing house Gunzo-Sha, through agreements with VAAp, has planned to publish in the next few years a series of books of contemporary Soviet prose. Fruitful relationships in this field are developing also with the Dutch publishing house Arbeiderspers and the Greek firms Kastaniotis and Synchroni Epoch [as published]. Finnish and Soviet publishers with the participation of VAAp have brought out a multivolume "Library of Soviet Literature in Finland" and a "Library of Finnish Literature in the Soviet Union." At the present time publication of a 45-volume "Library of the Literature of the U.S.A." is continuing in the Soviet Union. In the literary field VAAp is developing collaboration with the publishing house Econ-Verlag in the FRG, Penguin and Granada in Great Britain, Oceano and Plaza y Janes in Spain, Fleuve noir in France and others. In the USSR the works of the leading prose writers and poets of the Western nations are often published in printings considerably larger than those in the writers' native lands.

The range of writers from capitalist countries regularly published with VAAp's intermediary assistance in Soviet publishing houses is quite broad. Included are K. Frisch and G. Grass, N. Sarrault and A. Lundquist, D. Gardner and J.

Updike, T. Bernard and F. Mowat, G. Greene and M. Delibes, T. Wilder and I. Murdoch, P. Handke and N. Lewis, K. Abe and many others. We have every grounds for stating that everything that is most valuable in world literature is published in our country. The main criterion by which foreign literature, including the works of Western writers, is selected for translation in the USSR is the humanistic orientation of a work and its high artistic qualities.

VAAP participates in expanding the translation and publication in the Soviet Union of the best works of the literature and art of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Many works of contemporary writers of these countries are included in the 200-volume "Library of World Literature" and the 50-volume "Library of World Literature for Children" or are published in the series "Masters of Contemporary Prose" and "The Foreign Novel of the Twentieth Century" or in collected works and separate editions. The publishing house Khudozhestvennaya literatura annually puts out "the Eastern Almanac," in which new works by writers of the developing countries are published.

In recent years the publishing houses Progres, Raduga and Khudozhestvennaya literatura undertook the joint publication of the 12-volume "Library of Selected Works of the Writers of Asia and Africa." Soviet readers have welcomed new collections published in our country: "Tales and Myths of the Peoples of Oceania," "Poets of Latin America," "Pages from African Poetry: The Twentieth Century" and collections of novellas by writers from Algeria, Cameroon and other countries. New works from the literature of Asia, Africa and Latin America are introduced in the popular magazine INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA, which is published in Moscow. In practically every issue of this publication one can see the works of prose writers and poets of the developing nations. Very recently there have appeared on its pages G. Garcia Marquez's story "Chronicle of an Announced Death" [Cronica de una muerte anunciada], the famous Brazilian prose writer Jorge Amado's novel "A Military Jacket, an Academic Uniform, a Nightshirt," chapters from the Kenyan writer M. Mwangi's novel, "The Cockroach Dance," stories by the Indian writer S. Gangopadhyaya, poems by V. Cabral of Guinea-Bissau, the Palestinian G. Kanafani's narrative "Umm Saad" and other talented works.

[Question] Evidently the results of VAAP's work during these years about which you have just spoken are to a certain extent the fruit of the agency's active information and publicity work?

[Answer] Yes, you are entirely correct. In the work of the All-Union Copyright Agency (VAAP) great importance is attached to the activity of the information-publicity unit, VAAP-INFORM, which every year publicizes more than ten thousand works of Soviet literature, science and art. The VAAP-INFORM unit publishes subject catalogs, folders, new-release leaflets, bulletins and the newsletters "The Book and Art in the USSR," "In the Soviet Theater," "Music in the USSR," "New Plays" and "Information for Foreign Publishers" in Russian, English, French, German and Spanish. All these publications, 1,130 titles in a total edition of 340,700 copies, are sent out to more than two thousand foreign addresses. VAAP-INFORM prepares and sends abroad articles, sketches, interviews and reviews about works of literature, science and art and their authors for publication in the press of socialist, developing and capitalist nations. In its role of initiating projects the unit every year

sends to the agency's partners fifteen to twenty thousand examples of the works of Soviet authors for examination. I want to stress that this is an individualized distribution: each publisher is sent materials on the topics of interest to him, and the items are as a rule provided with extensive annotations in the appropriate language. VAAP-INFORM circulates and furnishes plays by Soviet and foreign dramatists to the amateur theaters and groups of the nation and participates in the preparation of informational displays of works by Soviet and foreign authors and in publicity work for our participation in book fairs.

[Question] You have mentioned book fairs. As we know, the Fourth Moscow International Book Exhibit and Fair [MIBEF-83] recently concluded successfully in Moscow....

[Answer] MIBEF-83 set a record both in the number of participants (more than 2,600 book-publishing and book-selling firms from 97 countries) and in the results of the commercial activity. In VAAP's line alone 2,580 export and import contracts were signed (2,057 in 1981), including 971 contracts for the translation and publication of 1,737 literary works and art books by Soviet and foreign authors.

But the main thing that pleases us is that the fair took place in a calm, businesslike atmosphere. Foreign participants' evaluation of the fair and our own observations and conclusions allow us to say with assurance that the Moscow International Book Exhibit and Fair not only has gained a secure place among the world's book forums but also has become second in the volume of commercial activity, after the fair in Frankfurt-am-Main, where there is trade in books between East and West, between socialist and Western states and between socialist and developing nations. During meetings and negotiations with leaders of copyright organizations, company presidents and directors of publishing houses we exchanged thoughts on the present condition of the book trade and on prospects for the future. Both we and they expressed support for further development of business relations.

An understanding was reached with publishing houses of socialist countries concerning preparation of a number of anthologies of the works of writers from among the peoples of the USSR and creation of special photo albums and books devoted to the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism and books on Soviet multinational art. There was discussion of plans to establish in the near future several series: "The Contemporary Soviet Novel" (Pergamon Press, Great Britain), works of writers of the union republics (Kokusai Bunka Shuppan-Sha, Japan), albums on the principal theaters and museums of the USSR (Oceano, Spain) and others.

An important distinguishing feature of this fair was the increased business activity of the representatives of the republics of our country; they skillfully and effectively publicized the scientific and cultural achievements of their peoples. The exhibits they presented at MIBEF-83 produced a deep impression on foreign participants at the fair.

Seven hundred sixty-three contracts (23.5 percent of the total number) for the works of writers, scholars and composers from union and autonomous republics

and from krays and oblasts of the Russian Republic were signed with publishing houses of socialist, developing and capitalist nations. In addition to this, 1,592 option agreements (46.2 percent) were concluded.

[Question] What you have just related concerns mainly the international activities of VAAP. Now, what are the basic trends of your work within this country?

[Answer] VAAP is a public universal copyright organization. It is entrusted both with the conduct of export and import operations related to granting and obtaining rights for publication and performance of works of science, literature and art and with the protection of the ethical and material interests of Soviet authors abroad and of foreign authors in our country.

In carrying out the functions assigned to the agency by its founders, VAAP performs a great deal of work of a legal nature. Among the agency's basic types of legal services are assistance in improving legislation in the field of copyright law, publicity concerning legal matters and a broad elucidation of the standards of copyright law and the means of applying them, with the help of lectures, reports, discussions, interviews and articles in the press, for the purpose of averting copyright violations, consultative work on copyright questions for authors and the organizations that make use of their works, a working cooperation with specialists in the ministerial and departmental system in which the use of the works is actually brought about and with specialists in the publishing houses and performing enterprises, with the goal of proper application of copyright standards and prevention and elimination of violations of them, and implementation of measures for protecting rights.

Agency lawyers recently participated directly in the development of decrees of the councils of ministers of the union republics concerning further improvement in remuneration for the creative work of writers and composers.

VAAP workers daily carry on the painstaking and very important work of collecting and disbursing fees to Soviet and foreign authors and their successors by deposits to the funds of the unions of writers, artists and composers. I want to point out that during each of the ten years of the agency's existence the quotas for its planned assignments have been exceeded.

[Question] And what are the prospects for the agency's work?

[Answer] The ten years of experience in the work of VAAP give us reason to believe that the affiliation of the USSR with the international copyright system has been an important stimulus to the development of international, cultural, and scientific cooperation. The exchange of spiritual values among peoples is a clear necessity. This fact is acknowledged by realistically thinking political and social activists, writers, scholars and representatives of business circles in all the countries of the world, and as a result we can look to the future with confidence and optimism.

INTERNATIONAL

ARTICLE ON SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DISCUSSES 'CONTRADICTIONS'

Moscow NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 83 pp 69-77

[Article by Yu.S. Novopashin: "On the Question of Developing a Theory of Development of the World System of Socialism and International Relations of the New Type"]

[Text] The formation of a world system of socialism in the postwar period put before Marxist-Leninist science a number of new problems among which the most important undoubtedly is the elaboration of a theory of development of this system and of socialist international relations. In particular, questions relating to the establishment of the world socialist economy, laws of strengthening economic relations among socialist countries and their regulation come within the scope of Soviet social science. Questions dealing with unfoldment of the process of socialist economic integration are being widely discussed. In the '70s, elaboration was speeded up of such key questions relating to the theory of development of the world system of socialism as analysis of the structure and nature of this system, disclosure of its laws and internal contradictions, study of the mechanism of coordination of socialist countries' national-state interests and determination of ways and means of strengthening their unity.

In the investigation of the said questions, undoubtedly achievements exist, but naturally not all problems have been resolved. It appears necessary, for example, to carry out a penetrating study of the structural organization of the world socialist system, more precise definition and further elaboration of the most important categories of this system's theory of development. Even greater variant readings are to be encountered here, although they do anything but advance our scientific views on this subject. By way of illustration of what has been said, we can cite the opinion of L.Ye. Zaborskiy who writes that "a system is not formed from a simple summation of components but only when these components form certain relations among each other, in the given case international relations. The basic principle of these relations is

1. The article was written on the basis of an address made by the author at a round-table session on the problem "Socialist International Relations," the materials of which are published in this issue.

socialist internationalism. It specifically is the chief system-forming factor of the world socialist system. Without these and other important criteria, the world socialist community would be unthinkable. In this connection, the attempts of certain authors do not appear to have a sufficiently valid basis for giving different meaning to the terms "world socialist system" and "world socialist community" or representing the socialist community as a component of the world system of socialism, functioning within its framework" (Zaborskiy, L.Ye., "Aktual'nyye problemy razvitiya i ukrepleniya mirovoy sotsialisticheskoy sistemy v svete resheniy XXV s"yedza KPSS" [Current Problems of Development and Strengthening of the World Socialist System in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress]. Kiev, 1977, p 6).

To a significant degree, these statements are quite questionable. It is true that the basic principle of international relations in the world system of socialism is socialist internationalism, but it is not true that it in particular is the chief system-forming factor of this system. The principle of socialist internationalism, as any other principle of interrelations of countries of the world system of socialism, cannot be its chief system-forming factor if only because it belongs to the category of principles that in the words of F. Engels "are not applied to nature and to human history but are abstracted from them. Neither nature nor mankind is formed from principles but the other way around, principles are true only as long as they correspond to nature and history" (Marks, K. and Engels, F., "Sochineniya" [Works], 2nd ed., Vol 20, p 34).

Among the chief or most important system-forming factors (features) of the world system of socialism are to be found those objective characteristics of this system without which it simply could not exist in the international arena as a social-historical reality of our time. It is clear that one of the most important of such factors, moreover initial ones, is the existence of a number of countries in which a socialist revolution was triumphant, establishing a government of laboring people headed by the working class and its political vanguard. The social uniformity of the socialist countries and the coincidence of their basic class interests in the struggle against imperialism for socialism and communism inevitably give rise to interstate and international interdependence and create a real possibility for the functioning of these countries as a definite community, objectively opposing the world of capitalism and the old forms of international intercourse. The conversion of this real possibility into reality constitutes also one of the most important system-forming factors of the world system of socialism.

Whether this interstate, international interaction is formed immediately or not immediately on the basis of principles of socialist internationalism depends on many conditions whose presence or absence at each given moment can hardly be legitimately related to the actual existence of the world system of socialism.

In other words, the existence of the world system of socialism is possible only then when the countries comprising it or any portion of them base their interaction on the realization first of all of general democratic principles of noninterference in internal affairs, respect for territorial integrity and the development of mutually beneficial cooperation, which perhaps serves as only

the initial basis for the development of this interaction, but in comparison with the presocialist, capitalist system of interstate, international intercourse it is an undoubtedly large step forward. The fact is that under the conditions of capitalism, as V.I. Lenin pointed out, "not one of these requirements (democratic--Yu.N.) could not serve or has not served, under certain circumstances as a tool of deceit of workers on the part of the bourgeoisie" (Lenin, V.I., "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 27, p 258).

Lenin's characterization of international relations under the conditions of socialism are indissolubly connected to the idea of realization not in words but in deed first and foremost of such general democratic principles as the right of all nations to self-determination, respect for state sovereignty, equal rights and the like. "Declaration of equal rights for all nations," V.I. Lenin wrote, "has become a form of deceit for the bourgeoisie, for us it will be the truth, which will lighten and speed up bringing all nations to our side" (Lenin, V.I., Ibidem, Vol 30, p 74).

Elaborating on the questions of ways of establishing cooperation of free nations and states and their international union, V.I. Lenin emphasized that such a union "cannot be attained at once; it must be reached by working with the greatest of patience and caution so as not to spoil the undertaking, so as not to create mistrust, so as to make it possible to get rid of defects remaining after centuries of oppression by landowners and capitalists, private ownership and enmity because of its divisions and redivisions" (Lenin, V.I., Ibidem, Vol 40, p 43). The presented words contain an extremely important idea that a fraternal union of free nations and states and their internationalist community are the definite result of development of international, interstate relations under conditions of a new order from the point of view of the level of socialist maturity attained by these relations.

On the methodological plane, the idea of level of socialist maturity of international relations of countries of the world system of socialism makes it possible to see more deeply concrete processes of the vital activity of this system as a series of historical forms of its development in their logical movements from what preceded to what follows. In other words, the development of the world system of socialism is accompanied by complication of its internal structure, exarticulation of structural formations connected with expansion of division of labor within the framework of the system and with the increasingly broad practice of bi- and multilateral coordination of foreign policy by the fraternal states, growing cooperation in the field of ideological and party organizational work and so on, that is, this development leads to the gradual transformation of the world system of socialism into a integral entity.

At one time, K. Marx, when analyzing the bourgeois social-economic system, emphasized that any "system as an aggregate whole has its prerequisites, and its development in the direction of wholeness consists of subordinating to itself all the elements of society and of creating from it organs lacking to it. In this way the system is transformed in the course of historical development into an integral entity. The establishment of a system of such wholeness forms a factor of it, the system, process and its development (Marx, K. and Engels, F., "Sochineniya", op cit, Vol 46, Part 1, p 229).

This position retains its methodological importance as applied to the development of socialism both as a social system and as a world system. As for the socialist world, the criteria (considered as a form of measure of determination of the qualitative state of the studied subject) of consolidation of socialist countries' system connections, gradual acquisition by these ties of a form of stability and all-round strengthened international wholeness could be said to include the following.

First, close ties encompassing the most diverse spheres of interaction of the ruling communist and workers parties of the socialist countries, their international cooperation achieved under the condition of total equality of rights, deep comradely trust and a cemented fraternal union of the socialist peoples.

Second, the process of ousting elements that are in opposition and not characteristic of the nature of socialism from the sphere of international relations of the socialist countries. The establishment of a new type of international relations based on internationalist principles prevalent as in the world system of socialism, ensuring thereby its transformation into an organic system, into a wholeness logically connected with subordination to the principles and norms of functioning and development of this wholeness in one sphere after another of interaction of the countries and peoples.

Third, increased integration in the development of fraternal cooperation and intensification not only of interstate but also of international relations in the direct sense of this word, deeply influencing all sides of intrasocial life and significantly accelerating international rapprochement of the socialist countries. Contacts on the basis of the official, state line are extremely important. It is namely they that constitute the core of contemporary international relations of the new type. But even at the present time contacts along this line, regardless of how intensive they might be, are insufficient for the satisfaction of all the needs of international intercourse brought about both by expanding internationalization of production and exchange and by the growing cultural and spiritual community of the socialist nations. For this reason the steady mutual drawing closer of the peoples through increasingly broader cultural exchange, social and individual contacts, tourism and the like constitutes one of the most important characteristics of the advancing progress of the world system of socialism toward increasingly more mature forms of interrelation and interaction of the countries comprising it.

Finally, fourth, growth and wide-scale spread of integrational processes in the world system of socialism and the existence of an effective international mechanism of control over these processes. Growth of integrational cooperation of the fraternal countries is a necessary criterion of the constantly growing solidarity of these countries as an international union, increasing unification of their efforts by them in the solution of basic problems related to the building of socialism and communism and consolidation of the positions of the new order in the world arena. The answer to the question of the level of rapprochement of these countries in the foreseeable and the stability of this rapprochement depends to a significant degree, for example, on how intensively and on what scale (from the point of inclusion of the national economies of the individual countries in the integrational process)

and with what effectiveness the tasks outlined by the Complex Program of Further Deepening and Improvement of Cooperation and Development of Socialist Economic Integration of CEMA Member Countries will be solved during the current decade.

Guided by such criteria, which necessarily are general but do provide an idea of the dominant direction of the structural development of the world system of socialism, it is possible to make the conclusion that by now this development has advanced farthest within the framework of the socialist community of CEMA member countries and the Organization of the Warsaw Pact. First and foremost, the tendency is displayed for an all-round international interaction and rapprochement of the fraternal states and steadfast strengthening of their unity. If, as has already been pointed out above, the cooperation of socialist states as such is a sufficient structure forming characteristic of the world system of socialism, then for the community of these states their deliberately realized international interaction already serves as a necessary structure forming characteristic.

While acknowledging the complexity of the structural organization of the world system of socialism, it is not at all possible to agree with those authors who equate the terms "world system of socialism" and "community of socialist states" and consequently do not see any differences in real manifestations delineated with the aid of these terms.

We also believe that other authors are incorrect who fall into another extreme and in their interpretation of the structure of the world system of socialism try to exclude any mention of interaction or cooperation of the countries comprising it, especially mention of internationalist interaction. They define the world system of socialism as a social-economic association of sovereign socialist countries bound with the ties of objective interdependence characterizing the community of socialist production relations, unity of basic interests and aims of their peoples and developing on the road to socialism and communism.

If the first of the positions considered above passes off what is desired as being actual, substituting for the definition of the world system of socialism as a complex and continuously developing social-historical phenomenon in essence with the known result of this development, then the second position strictly excludes the actual development as an integral characteristic of any system in its movement from the lowest steps of its organization to the highest. The fact is that the ties alone of objective interdependence of the socialist countries, the common character of their production relations and coincidence of the basic interests and aims of the fraternal peoples as yet do not serve as evidence of functioning of the association of these peoples as a definite international system. For this functioning (and development) to take place, there is a need not only for ties of objective interdependence but also for real interaction of the socialist countries as components of the world system of socialism.

In other words, in order to reflect the dialectical unity of objective and subjective factors in the functioning and development of the world system of

socialism, it has to be defined as an association of sovereign countries, bound not only by the common character of production relations prevalent in them and unity of the basic interests of the peoples of these countries (which is primarily included in the term objective interdependence) but also by the different forms of their international interaction.

Here the objection may be foreseen that in case of agreement with the proposed definition, it would be necessary to consider this or that country outside the framework of the world socialist system each time the forms of its interaction with other socialist countries are limited for some reasons to a minimum or even are altogether absent. Such an objection would be without foundation. It can be advanced only on the assumption that the interaction of socialist countries boils down only to the friendly cooperation of these countries. However, a person who makes such an assumption takes a quite simplified path of understanding the dialectics of the objective and subjective in the development of the world socialist system, a path of idealization of this development.

Of course, the friendly cooperation of socialist countries is one of the most important or, more truly, a basic characteristic of their interaction as parts of the world socialist system. But the basic characteristic of this interaction is not its comprehensive and only characteristic. The development of the world system of socialism is a complex and contradictory process. Objective requirements of all-round cooperation and internationalist rapprochement of the various countries of this system (as of all countries that will be added to it in the future) will not ripen for all at one and the same time. And the degree of perception and realization of such requirements in the foreign policy of the socialist states also cannot be identical for all nor always optimal.

The consideration of these generally obvious factors makes it possible to characterize the interaction of the socialist countries as most diverse in regard to concrete forms of their ties, and cooperation of which each form does not necessarily fully express the nature of the international relations of the new socialist type. L.Ye. Zaborskiy, it is true, believes that to give such a characterization would mean ostensibly "justification and acknowledgement of recanting of socialist internationalism or its inadequate observance of "objective" factors, willy-nilly a recognition of possible ideological pluralism and political polycentrism of the socialist world" (Zaborskiy, D.Ye., Op cit, p 6).

Inasmuch as the cited statement in its spirit can hardly be said to be correct, there is no need to polemize it.

In examining the special features of socialist international relations, it should be emphasized that they are primarily manifested in the spheres of functioning and development of these relations, or speaking more precisely, in processes connected with the continuing establishment of these relations as a system especially in processes that determine their progress. While the former depend primarily on quantitative shifts, growth of the number of member countries of the world system of socialism and the "reproduction" of forms of ties already existing among them, the latter are conditioned by qualitative shifts in socialist international relations.

In its forward movement the system of international relations is constantly giving rise to many problems. Tendencies and patterns characteristic of it themselves undergo change with the functioning and development of international relations and are filled with a new content. And this is manifested not only in the fact that tendencies develop into patterns but also in the fact that all of them taken together determine the character of the processes within whose framework contradictions arise and are resolved, and together with them new problems arise. Already in the '70s, processes of internationalization and economic and social leveling of the countries of the socialist community reached a stage at which an integrational tendency arose. It was first displayed in the economic, more precisely--in the national-economic sphere. Although this tendency had its inception only recently, its operation disclosed a number of international problems whose importance is not limited solely to the field of economic relations among the socialist countries. Comradely cooperation and socialist mutual aid of the fraternal states are becoming deeper and more effective, including in the solution of such problems as mutual adaptation and the establishment of a close organic tie between national economic complexes, optimization and gradual reorganization of their structures.

Under these conditions, there also arise many political, moral-ethical, international-legal and other questions on whose solution the success of socialist integration in the economic sphere depends and its spread to other fields of interaction of the fraternal states. The chief task is to develop and perfect as needed those forms of socialist international relations which would optimally favor the manifestation of the most important tendencies and patterns of their development.

The emergence of different contradictions within the system of socialist international relations requires the timely disclosure and determination of their nature and developmental tendencies as well as the working out of methods of selecting the means of resolution. It should be said that in the question of contradictions of real socialism, including the international aspect of its development, our social science, as pointed out at one of the meetings of scientists of socialist countries, is still in big debt to political practice "True, when it comes to words, no one denies the importance of contradictions. In general form, all acknowledge the most important requirement of Marxist dialectics: to take into consideration internal contradictions in the development of any phenomenon of nature or society. In this sense, the so-called "theory of absence of conflict," once prevalent in our science, may be considered overcome. But as soon as talk deals with the contradictions of real socialism, this notorious "absence of conflict" ["beskonfliktnost'"] pulls as before many of our materialists-dialecticians into a most real idealistic maelstrom since, as a rule, they cannot see any negative manifestations in the development of the new society except those connected with vestiges of the past in the consciousness of people ("Voprosy vliyaniya real'nogo sotsializma na mirovoy revolyutsionny protsess: Materialy mezhdunarodnogo simpoziuma" [Questions of the Influence of Real Socialism on the World Revolutionary Process: Materials of the International Symposium]. Moscow, 1982, p 142)

The June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee justifiably directed attention to the fallaciousness of such an approach. It emphasized that it

would be wrong to see in all contradictions and negative manifestations under socialism only "vestiges of the past" in the consciousness and behavior of people. The reasons for many of them "should be also sought in present-day practice, in mistakes of these or those workers, in real problems and difficulties of our development and in defects of our work" ("Materialy Plenuma TsK KPSS, 14-15 iyunya 1983 g." [Materials of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 14-15 June 1983]. Moscow, 1983, p 38). As for the contradictions and difficulties of development of socialist international relations, some of them are due to the transition of the fraternal states to intensive development of the economy and to the not entirely coinciding interests here of these states, while the cause of the others lies in differences in approach to these or those questions of world politics, still others are related to the consequences of the influence of class-alien forces on the social life of certain socialist countries and so on.

With the further growth of socialist international relations, deepening and complication of their ties and increase in the number of participants in these relations, inadequate consideration of emerging considerations, lack of understanding of their nature and of the special features of growth and resolution can have negative consequences for the system of interaction of the socialist countries as a whole and for several of its spheres. The main problem in this field is provision of a natural, that is, of an adequate character of socialist international relations, development and resolution of their contradictions. It is important to make sure that they, which are nonantagonistic by their very nature, do not degenerate into critical conflicts and collisions.

The study and realization of the principles of socialist international relations also constitute a serious problem. The developed internationalist and democratic principles in their aggregate reflect the main tendencies and basic patterns of socialist international relations.

On the one hand, since the world system of socialism is formed of countries that have dropped out of the capitalist system, it begins its active life from the level of international intercourse reached by the preceding social-economic formation in its development, namely: from the interaction and cooperation of nations and peoples that are individual in a state sense. Over the duration of a rather extended time, a new order has been established for socialist states in the world arena. Its all-round improvement must be uninterruptedly directed in their interrelations likewise by norms and principles which are important and necessary for any interstate cooperation and interrelations of the country. They include first of all," Yu.V. Andropov points out, such principles, which socialism consistently upholds in the international arena and which naturally require strict observance in relations among socialist states. These are equality, mutual respect of sovereign rights and territorial inviolability of every socialist country, which is incompatible with interference in the internal affairs of each other and with the foisting of its experience by one country on other fraternal countries" (Andropov, Yu.V., "Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles]. Moscow, 1979, p 83). These principles, as we know, are incorporated in the USSR Constitution.

On the other hand, international relations of the new type as relations of a state-organized proletariat acquire the internationalist heritage of the world communist and workers movement and a long-range strategic aim, which is the unification of efforts of the working class of different countries in the struggle against exploitation and for the full and decisive freeing of labor, finally overcoming any national isolation and achieving all-round rapprochement of free nations and peoples. An expression of an objective requirement of development of interstate, international relations of the new type specifically in this direction is to be found in principles stemming, in the words of Yu.V. Andropov, "from the idea of proletarian internationalism. Here are to be found development and deepening of economic and political relations, fraternal cooperation of socialist countries in all fields of social life on the basis of mutual benefit and observance of national interests. Here is also coordination of foreign-policy activities of the socialist states, unity of action in the international arena in the interests of peace and peaceful coexistence. Finally, here is a union of efforts of the socialist countries in the field of defence, joint protection of the socialist gains of the peoples" (Ibidem, p 83). Adherence to these principles, which have also been incorporated in the Fundamental Law of our country, is a guarantee of strengthening of unity, gradual rapprochement of the fraternal countries and peoples, advancement of the world system of socialism to that stage of its development which will indicate a logical transition to higher forms of international intercourse and cooperation than this system.

Thus in the solution of pertinent questions of the theory and practice of development of the world system of socialism, major importance is to be attached to the thesis of organic unity in international relations of the new type of general democratic and internationalist principles. In the future, work will have to be done in bringing the content of the principles into accord with real processes of development of international relations of the new type on the basis of a more substantive elucidation of the interconnection of internationalist and democratic principles with the aim of their effective realization in all forms of interaction of the socialist countries and improvement of their interstate relations.

As we know, that mediating element which links objective prerequisites and the possibilites of such improvement with actual foreign policy is to be found in international political and foreign-policy concepts worked out and realized by the Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries. Each ruling party formulates them based primarily on the requirements and the developmental interests of the country itself, whose content and structure are not entirely the same and moreover not identical with the content and structure of the national and state interests of the other socialist countries. Consequently, despite the whole shared character of the nature of socialism in the foreign-policy concepts of the different socialist countries, in the practical implementation of their foreign policy there is manifested a distinguishing feature determined by the growth needs of national-state property as well as by the historical and other features of the said countries. Hence the solution to the problem of further improvement of socialist international relations is primarily connected to a fuller realization in them not only of common interests but also of the interests and requirements of each socialist country.

"Strengthening of democratism in these relations, establishment of socialist partnership," Academician O.T. Bogomolov emphasizes, "such is the dominant tendency that will be manifested with increasing determination during the '80s" (Bogomolov, O.T., "Mir sotsializma: neotsenimyy opyt obshchestvennogo progressa" [The World of Socialism: The Invaluable Experience of Social Progress]. Moscow, 1981, p 30).

Consideration of this tendency in the development of an interconnection of internationalist and democratic principles in international and interstate relations of the new type constitutes a paramount task of each researcher. We can say bluntly that certain interpretations of this questions found in our literature are still far from such a consideration of actual conditions. For example, the interpretation of the correlation of democratic and internationalist principles or more broadly--the correlation of national and international in the development of socialist international relations as subordinate is imprecise. They combine harmoniously. One cannot disagree with the statement of the chief of the Department of Foreign Policy and International Relations of the Central Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party Kh. Maleyev that it would be "more correct if, in disclosing the interconnection of the national and international, we devote our basic attention to the indissolubility of these seemingly identically important elements" (PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, № 10, 1981, p 49).

The development of socialist international relations is determined by a whole series of objective circumstances. And at the same time, a great deal depends and will continue to depend on the subjective factor, especially on the scientific validity of ideas existing among ruling communist and workers parties on the processes of socialist development of the fraternal countries, the nature of their unity and its forms. As Yu.V. Andropov emphasized at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "the last two decades have enriched our ideas concerning the world of socialism, they have shown more clearly how diversified and complex it is. Big differences exist among individual socialist countries in economics, culture in ways and methods of solving problems of socialist development. This is natural, even if it once seemed to us that it would be more uniform" ("Materialy Plenuma TsK KPSS, 14-15 iyunya 1983", op cit, pp 20-21).

It goes without saying that the last two decades have also expanded our ideas about the character of the unity of socialist peoples and states and ways of attaining, as the trend of unity and the forms in which it is realized do not remain the same. And this means that in regard to its content the unity of socialist countries and of their Marxist-Leninist countries is constantly growing and being improved.

At the present level of cooperation and relations in the world of socialism, major importance is to be attached to a more substantive scientific generalization of the experience accumulated in this field and elaboration of general problems of further development of socialist international and interstate relations. The June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, in setting the task

"to analyze more deeply social-political processes in socialist countries and ways of all-round strengthening the world socialist community, called on Soviet social scientists for this...." (Ibidem, p 33).

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INTERNATIONAL

KAZAKH ACADEMICIAN LAUDS USSR NATIONALITY POLICY

Alma-Ata IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK KAZAKHSKOY SSR: SERIYA OБSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK
in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 83 (signed to press 14) Oct 83 pp 17-23

[Article by D. K. Kshibekov: "The International Significance of the Formation and Successful Development of the USSR"]

[Excerpts] The bourgeois ideologues attempt to ascribe to our system features characteristic of capitalism, slanderously distorting the essence of national relations existing in the USSR and claiming that our system is based on the oppression of one nation by others. Yet the heroic deeds of warriors of various nationalities during the terrible war years and the selfless labor of the Soviet people during peacetime speak of quite the opposite. The martial exploits and labor heroism of representatives of various nationalities have been accomplished not under compulsion but voluntarily, consciously. Consider the Virgin Lands epic, for example. The development of the Virgin Lands was a national accomplishment, and those developed lands are a monument to the great friendship of peoples. The BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline], transformation of the Nonchernozem Zone, and the pumping of oil in Western Siberia --everywhere, despite difficult climatic conditions, representatives of various nationalities of the USSR are working selflessly, including Russians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Bashkirs, Azerbaijanis, Khantys and Mansis, the working people of the fraternal countries of the socialist commonwealth. All this constitutes proof of great friendship. Multinational labor collectives, as Comrade Yu. V. Andropov stated, are "the medium in which the internationalist spirit is instilled best, in which the brotherhood and friendship of peoples of the USSR are consolidated."¹ As for the wartime heroism of Soviet fighting men, here again the baton of heroic traditions of their fathers and grandfathers in fulfilling their patriotic and internationalist duty is carried on. At the request of the legitimate government of Afghanistan, for example, Soviet fighting men of various nationalities of the USSR, in fulfillment of their internationalist duty, are defending the free life of the working people of this country against imperialism's encroachments.

In order to accomplish heroic deeds, people must be absolutely convinced of the rightness of their actions, must be dedicated to the social and state system which they represent and defend.

In his speech at the 26th CPSU Congress, Irish Communist Party General Secretary Michael O'Riordan compared his country with the Lithuanian SSR. He noted that Ireland's population is less than 5 million; that of Soviet

Lithuania is 3.4 million. But what a contrast! Ireland has mass unemployment and inflation, enterprises being closed down, a policy of "divide and conquer," and the terror of the English "Green Berets" in Ulster. Lithuania has solid economic growth, full employment, a steadily rising standard of living, and fraternal relations among peoples of various nationalities. "Our Irish people are no less labor-loving than Lithuanians," O'Riordan concludes, "but the difference between us is that we belong to two completely different social systems: Lithuania is part of the Soviet Union, while Ireland is a member of the European Community. Everyone is aware of the advantages Lithuania has as part of the USSR. But what about Ireland in the European Economic Community? Ireland is one of the four poorest regions in the "Common Market." Its gross national product is less than 50 percent of the average in the EEC."² At the triumphant gathering of working people dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, he added to this comparison: "While the Soviet peoples throughout these 60 years have enjoyed the benefits of fraternal union, the Irish people have been tasting the bitter fruits of fratricidal conflict."³

The USSR is a country of equality and friendship among peoples. All nations and nationalities enjoy equal rights in the USSR. "For various nations to get along freely and peacefully together or to separate and set up different states when this is more convenient to them," said V. I. Lenin, "requires full democratism defended by the working class. Not a single privilege for any particular nation, for any particular language! No oppression, even the slightest, no injustice toward any national minority! These are the principles of workers' democracy."⁴ This Leninist precept is at the basis of all practical endeavors of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

National relations in the countries of the socialist commonwealth are also being structured in accordance with the experience of the USSR. For example, Czechoslovakia's Federal Assembly, as in the USSR, consists of two chambers: the National Chamber and the Chamber of Nationalities; there is a Federal government and organs of the national republics. That country, in addition to Czechs and Slovaks, includes Germans, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Jews, and Poles. "Our socialist society," noted Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee General Secretary and Czechoslovak President H. Husak, "has in implementing the Leninist principle of federation found the optimal form of state-legal organization of relations among our different peoples, one which provides new, broad possibilities for their development as socialist nations and for strengthening their unity in a common homeland.... Practice has shown that the federated system of state-legal administration has proved its worth."⁵

The constitution of the Union of Burma calls for the use of two forms of autonomy (national states and national districts [okrugs]). These autonomous formations have equal representation in one of the highest organs of state rule--the State Council.

In the Hungarian People's Republic, where Serbs, Croatians, Slavs [Slavyane], Germans, Slovaks, and Romanians live alongside Hungarians, the constitution accords all nationalities equal rights in the use of their native languages,

schooling in their native languages, and also the preservation and development of their cultures.

The democratic and internationalist character of our state structure is evident in particular in the fact that each union or autonomous republic, each autonomous oblast or okrug, regardless of their population, sends an equal number of deputies to the Soviet of Nationalities, whose number of deputies is equal to the number of deputies of the Soviet of the Union. For example, the population of all 20 ASSRs is just 9 percent of the country's population, but in the Soviet of Nationalities they are represented by 222 deputies, making up about 30 percent of all deputies to that chamber of the USSR Supreme Soviet. As is well known, the Soviet of Nationalities takes account of the social-cultural characteristics of each national republic (oblast, okrug), whereas the Soviet of the Union expresses the interests of the whole population of the country. The population of all eight autonomous oblasts comes to only 0.8 percent of the country's population, but in the Soviet of Nationalities they are represented by 40 deputies--that is, more than 5 percent of all deputies of the chamber. As for the 10 autonomous okrugs, their population adds up to only 0.5 percent of the country's population, but the proportion of their deputies to the Soviet of Nationalities adds up to 1.3 percent of the population.⁶

"In the fraternal family," we read in Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's report, "all nations and nationalities living in the 20 autonomous republics and 18 autonomous oblasts and okrugs are successfully realizing their capabilities. Also enjoying full rights as Soviet citizens are millions of Germans, Poles, Koreans, Kurds, and representatives of other nationalities for whom the Soviet Union has long been the homeland."⁷

Our accomplishments in resolving the nationality question are especially graphic when compared with data characterizing the situation of national minorities in the capitalist countries. There are 800,000 Indians in the United States, but they are not represented either in Congress, the Senate, or in other governmental organs. Some 14.6 million Latin Americans are also unrepresented in any governmental organs. Their most vital goal is to become registered as voters. But in the United States this problem is extremely difficult. The Puerto Ricans are totally deprived of the right to take part in national elections. Negroes constitute 12 percent of the country's population (25 million), but in the government they are only 1 percent represented.

Addressing the peoples of the Soviet Union, CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall said: "You can speak proudly of the brotherhood of nationalities having equal rights; in the United States more than 50 million persons suffer from racial and national oppression. These people lead a miserable existence and suffer from humiliating discrimination in all spheres of life."⁸ In that country, millions of people and their families have no homes but are forced to live on the street, in automobiles, and wooden boxes. There are many hungry and homeless among them, although in any city there are hundreds and thousands of well-appointed apartments standing empty.

In the West, Canada is called a country of "developed bourgeois democracy." Yet the constitution ratified in that country in 1982 does not take account of the interests of the native peoples of the country--Indians and Eskimos.⁹

Colombia has a little over 385,000 Indians, constituting 1.5 percent of the population. And although the Indian communities are located in the jungles and on the steppes, they are constantly subjected to physical destruction. Nevertheless, the Indian communities are resisting the tyranny of the authorities, fighting for their rights and for the return of lands taken from them. "We are convinced," says Colombian Communist Party Central Committee General Secretary Gilberto Villeira, "that on the basis of Leninist ideas, by creating a firm workers and peasants alliance, a broad democratic front, the struggle of Colombia's Indians will result in victory."¹⁰

Not only the attainment of juridical equality but also the securing of actual equality among peoples--such was the goal of the CPSU's nationality policy. The task was how best and most rapidly to raise the backward hinterlands making up the USSR up to the level of the most developed peoples. To accomplish this they were given enormous and unselfish aid--financial, economic, technical, cultural--by Russians, Ukrainians, and other Soviet peoples.

As a result, Russia's national hinterlands have been transformed into leading industrial-agrarian republics. And the pace of development of the national regions has been considerably faster than in Central Russia. Whereas in the USSR as a whole the volume of industrial production in the years of Soviet rule has risen by 169 times, in Belorussia the figure is 254 times, in Kazakhstan 256 times, Moldavia 304 times, Kirghizia 379, and Armenia 420.¹¹ A new historic community of people has been formed in our country--the Soviet people. This is reflected in the USSR Constitution ratified on 7 October 1977.

Integrated and proportional development of the productive forces of each union republic will lead to a further upsurge in the economy of the whole country, to general enhancement of the peoples' well-being. Our experience in equalizing the levels of development of each national republic and oblast is now being used within the countries of the socialist commonwealth on the basis of socialist division of labor and mutual aid among peoples.

The combined labor and ideological unity of people of various national groups constitute the basis of shaping the Soviet people's internationalism. Equal attitudes toward labor, equal evaluation of the results of labor--in terms of quantity and quality--instill in people the spirit of genuine equality. One aspect of the rapprochement of the peoples of the USSR is bilingualism, mastery of the language of international communication in addition to the native language by all citizens of the national republics and oblasts. For the Soviet people, Russian has objectively and voluntarily become that language. "A factor of exceptional importance in the economic, political, and cultural life of the country," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov has stated, "in the rapprochement of all national groups and nationalities, in their partaking of the riches of world civilization, is the Russian language, which has become a natural part of life for millions of people of all nationalities."¹² The

USSR's experience in this regard is an example for all multinational states. For example, 82 percent of the USSR's population speaks Russian fluently. At the same time, 93.1 percent of persons of varying nationalities of the USSR consider the language of their national group to be their native language. Such are the dialectics of the study of the inter-national and the national languages of the USSR, thus debunking the slanderous fabrications of bourgeois ideologues concerning the alleged enforced Russification of the non-Russian nationalities.

"I am no specialist in nationality questions," Austrian journalist Eva Priester writes, "but on recent visits to Latvia, the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Belorussia I saw that all street signs were written in the local language, with the Russian name printed below. The same was true of signs on public buildings, in museum displays, and everywhere else. Schoolchildren confidently tell visitors that their classes are naturally conducted in their native language and at the same time they study Russian: bilingualism is no problem for anyone; it is a sign that equal rights for all peoples of the Soviet Union have become profoundly rooted in the life of the country."¹³

Of vital international significance is the flourishing of the cultures of the Soviet peoples. Writing systems have been created for more than 40 peoples during the years of Soviet rule. For example, the Yukagirs. They number 800. Now they have their own alphabet, consisting of 39 letters. It was created by a Yukagir scientist on the basis of the Russian alphabet, but six letters are purely Yukagir. From a country 75 percent illiterate we have become a country in which three-quarters of the population have a higher or secondary education, a country where every citizen has an inner need to read books, newspapers, and journals, to go to the theater, to libraries, and museums.

The multinational culture of the peoples of the USSR is a qualitatively new phenomenon. It incorporates all the best, that which is democratic and progressive in the culture of each people. Before the revolution, for example, Uzbek music was monophonic. Now the Yalla Vocal-Instrumental Ensemble performs modern and folk songs on a high professional level. The chief result of the development of the cultural revolution was not just liquidation of illiteracy and the creation of cultural centers; its main result was the unprecedented rise in the cultures of the smaller peoples. There are no backward national hinterlands in the USSR. It is no accident that the works of Chingiz Aytmatov have been published in 80 countries. In an article dealing with problems of internationalism, Alim Keshokov writes: "No other literature in the world except Soviet literature provides so many brilliant and convincing examples confirming Gor'kiy's idea that talent does not depend on population size. There are just 2 million Kirghizes, but they have given world literature Chingiz Aytmatov; the population of Avars is one-quarter that of the Kirghizes, yet they have produced Rasul Gamzatov; the Balkars are only one-seventh the number of Avars, yet the poetry of Kaysyn Kuliayev has crossed numerous linguistic and state borders; the Yukagirs number only one-eightieth the Balkar population, about 1,000, but the name of Semen Kurylev is widely known throughout the country."¹⁴ This is instructive, especially for the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which have embarked on

the path of independent development. Our present, assuming a favorable confluence of circumstances, of course, represents the near future for the peoples of many developing countries. Such is the logic of history. "Certain basic features of our revolution," V. I. Lenin wrote, "are more than of local, national-particular, Russian significance--they are of international significance. ...The Russian model will show to all countries something essential of their own inevitable and not-far-distant future."¹⁵ The governments of the developing countries, for example, are doing a great deal of work to study and develop local languages. Writing systems are being developed for many of them, illiteracy is being liquidated, and newspapers and journals are being published. The prestige of the USSR is growing. All honorable people on earth are turning their gaze toward the Soviet experience in resolving social and national problems, establishing equality, friendship, and brotherhood among peoples. This also attests to the increasingly stronger attraction of the USSR.

Prof Tsurumi Kazuko of Tokyo's University of St. Sophia conducted interviews with 100 students in three universities of the capital city--Tokyo, Chuo, and Keyo, and concluded that interest in Marxism is growing among students in that country. Of the 100 students questioned, 63 were "very much" interested in Marxism, 16 were "somewhat" interested, and 12 were "a little" interested. This is a total of 91--the overwhelming majority. Naturally, interest in Marxism does not immediately lead young men and women to the theoretical mastery of the ideas of scientific communism. Some of them combine Marxism with other doctrines. Nevertheless, broad interest and even a turning toward Marxism are characteristic.¹⁶ That is the main thing. Hence, as Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, it is vital and essential "to be able to convey in an accessible and convincing form the truth about socialist society, its advantages, its peaceful policies, to the broad masses of people throughout the world."¹⁷ This is essential for the present and the future, to deliver mankind from errors and confusion.

Thus, the USSR's historical experience is unequaled in world civilization. It is in radical opposition to the experience of capitalism and all antagonistic formations. The prophetic lines of the historic Declaration of the Formation of the USSR resound with extraordinary topicality in the world just as they did over 60 years ago: There in the capitalist camp is national hatred and inequality, colonial slavery and chauvinism, national oppression and pogroms, imperialistic savagery and wars. Here in the socialist camp is mutual respect and peace, national freedom and equality, peaceful community and fraternal collaboration among peoples.¹⁸

FOOTNOTES

1. Yu. V. Andropov, "Shest'desyat let SSSR" [Sixty Years of the USSR], Moscow, 1982, p 14.
2. PRAVDA, 2 March 1981.

3. PRAVDA, 24 December 1982.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 23, p 150.
5. MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN' No 11, 1982, p 58.
6. "Naseleniye SSSR" [USSR Population], Moscow, 1980, pp 4-11; see also: "Konstitutsiya (Osnovnoy Zakon) Soyuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik" [Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics], Moscow, 1977, p 110.
7. Yu. V. Andropov. op. cit., p 8-9.
8. PRAVDA, 25 December 1982.
9. PRAVDA, 24 December 1982.
10. PRAVDA, 25 December 1982.
11. POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE No 8, 1982, p 48.
12. Yu. V. Andropov, op. cit., p 9.
13. PRAVDA, 28 August 1982.
14. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 27 May 1981.
15. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 41, pp 3, 4.
16. "Formirovaniye politicheskogo soznaniya molodezhi razvitykh kapitalisticheskikh stran: Sbornik obzorov" [Formation of the Political Consciousness of Youth in the Developed Capitalist Countries: Collection of Surveys], Moscow, 1982, p 99.
17. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS. 14-15 iyunya 1983 g." [Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. 14-15 June 1983], Moscow, 1983, p 7.
18. "Obrazovaniye i razvitiye Soyuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik: Sb. dokumentov" [Formation and Development of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: Collection of Documents], Moscow, 1973, p 263.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ON LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS 1959-1979 REVIEWED

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pp 190-192

[Review by N.M. Lavrov of book "Latinskaya Amerika: revolyutsia i sovremennoe" (Latin America: Revolution and the Present) by B.I. Koval', Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", Moscow, 1981, 199 pages]

[Text] This book by Professor B.I. Koval', doctor of historical sciences, is a direct continuation of his two previous books,¹ which were devoted to the revolutionary movement of the Latin American peoples in the 20th century; in those books he treated the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the rise of the anti-imperialist and workers movement on the continent in the early 20's, and he analyzed the further history of the workers movement right up to the victory of the Cuban revolution. The author has devoted this concluding work to the Latin American revolutionary process of the last 20 years--from the 1959 victory of the Cuban revolution to the 1979 victory of the Nicaraguan revolution.

This investigation is based on a broad range of sources and literature; materials of the Latin American communist parties have been used extensively. In all three books the workers movement, and in particular the communist movement, is viewed in close conjunction with the civil history of the Latin American countries and with world history as a component of the worldwide revolutionary movement.

The analysis of specific historical content and theoretical issues in the development of the Latin American countries is subordinated to the central problem of revolution. This problem is also raised in the first book, but there revolution is present

1. B.I. Koval', "Svet Oktyabrya nad Latinskoy Amerikoy" [The Light of October over Latin America], Moscow, 1977; B.I. Koval', "Rabocheye Dvizheniye v Latinskoy Amerike (1917-1959)" [The Workers Movement in Latin America (1917-1959)], Moscow, 1979.

only as a prospect, as a possibility. However in the last two works, and especially in the work under review, revolution exists as reality. Further, emphasis should be placed in particular on the author's analytical, concrete approach to the development of the revolutionary process in any given country.

In the book "Latinskaya Amerika: revolyutsia i sovremennost'" B.I. Koval' shows the conditions in which the revolutions of the last two decades have taken place, as well as their nature and features. The arrangement of the material is also subordinated to this task. After examining the economy and the class structure of Latin American society, the author moves on to an analysis of the major revolutionary battles since the decisive event in Latin American history--the victory of the Cuban Revolution. The years from 1959 to 1973 included the maturing of the revolutionary situation in Brazil, which was strangled in 1964 by the forces of the internal reaction and military imperialism, the 1965 civil war in the Dominican Republic and the Chilean revolution of 1970-1973. The military-political overthrows, which opened up the process of revolutionary and anti-imperialist transformations in Peru, Panama, Bolivia, Ecuador and Honduras are also considered. Later the features of the anti-imperialist movement in the 60's and 70's in the Central American and Caribbean countries, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, Uruguay and Argentina are analyzed.

One of the chapters has a characteristic title: "Antifascist Resistance and New Revolutionary Victories." It concerns the 70's and the political strategy--worked out by the communist parties--of popular democratic resistance to fascism, resistance which is aimed against the military dictators; it also concerns the popular revolution in Nicaragua and the civil war in El Salvador.

B.I. Koval' emphasizes that throughout the Latin American countries, with all the features of their economic and socio-political situation, the working class is marching at the head of the revolutionary, national-liberation movement and that the communist parties are the initiators in establishing coalitions of the leftist forces and broad fronts in opposition to the forces of internal reaction and foreign imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism. But the book's most valuable contribution is its examination of a new trend in the historical development of Latin America, a trend which was defined following the victory of the Cuban revolution. And in fact, while the Guatemalan (1951-1954) and the Bolivian (1952) revolutions with all their positive historical significance developed within a capitalist framework, the Cuban revolution marked the start of a new stage in the development of the revolutionary process in Latin America. It reflected a basic feature of our epoch, an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. What started as a democratic, anti-imperialist revolution manifested socialist tendencies in

its subsequent development, tendencies which resulted in Cuba's transformation into the first socialist state in America.

During the development of the Chilean revolutionary process in 1970-1973 a socialist perspective arose, but it was closed off as a result of the counterrevolutionary overthrow. "At a certain stage in Peru," the author notes, with the period 1968-1975 in mind, "a real opportunity developed for the transition to serious anti-capitalist transformations and to an orientation toward socialism" (p 70). However, this possibility was not realized in practice.

In defining the upswings and downturns of the Latin American revolutionary process since 1959, B.I. Koval' singles out the Nicaraguan revolution, the first victorious people's revolution since the Chilean tragedy. "In terms of its nature," the author writes, "it is a democratic anti-oligarchical and anti-imperialist revolution with an orientation toward socialism" (p 55). We would add that the Nicaraguan revolution swept away one of the oldest tyrannical regimes and inflicted a substantial blow to the positions of North American imperialism in Central America; it also confirmed that the path to the socialist future of Latin America is the historical reality of our time.

Thus the book contains a comprehensive investigation of the problem of revolution. But the author does not limit himself to this. He gives no less attention to the opposing forces of internal counterrevolution and imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism.

The progressive forces of the Latin American countries have many opponents both "on the right" and "on the left." However, as a consequence of 1) the changing alignment of political forces, 2) the active efforts of the communist parties and the 3) actions of the broad masses at any given decisive moment, the progressive forces have succeeded in gaining the upper hand on the internal reaction. But in Latin America there is a continuously active counterrevolutionary factor--U.S. imperialism. If it were not for its interference on the side of the Latin American reaction, the successes of the progressive forces and the peoples of Latin America in their struggle for democracy and national independence would be greater.

The last chapter, entitled "Latin America in the World Revolutionary Process" summarizes not only this book but also B.I. Koval's entire investigation of the revolutionary process in Latin America during the years 1917-1980. The author draws the following conclusion about qualitative shifts in the development of the class struggle at the present stage in comparison with previous periods: "The school of the revolutionary 60-70's marked an important frontier in the history of modern Latin

America; it was one of the main preconditions for the coming successes of the anti-imperialist revolution" (p 188).

We would emphasize that the author has studied this "school" with all the uniqueness of the revolutionary processes which comprise it. It is appropriate here to cite from the "Afterword," written by Professor V.V. Zagladin, the book's editor-in-chief: "B.I. Koval' devotes a significant amount of attention to all the specifics (that is, to the aggregate and individual specifics) in the development of the Latin American states. In all three of his books these specifics are traced with attention and sometimes, one might say, even with love... And at the same time, what is important is that the author has managed to avoid the exaggeration of specific factors... The specifics are for him that very "exception" that proves the "rule," ~~i.e.~~, the universal laws of social development" (pp 190-191).

B.L. Koval's book has one disappointing omission. The text should contain mention or even citations from the works of Soviet scholars who are actively working on the problems of the liberation and workers movement in the Latin American countries. This would make it possible to set off the author's original contribution to the investigation. To us the frequent use of the definition of populism introduced into common usage by petty bourgeois sociologists seems unjustified.

B.I. Koval's book is a noteworthy phenomenon in the treatment of the Latin American revolutionary process in recent times; it generalizes the work which has been done by Soviet researchers in this area and at the same time it introduces much that is new into that body of work.

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NATIONAL

NEW INSTRUCTIONS ON PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATION WORK WITH DOCUMENTS ISSUED

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 21, Nov 83 (signed to press 25 Oct 83)
pp 16-21

[Article: "The Work With Documents in Primary Party Organizations to a Qualitatively New Level"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in bold-face in source]

[Text] At the present stage the primary organizations of the CPSU with their extensive network of shop organizations and party groups are playing an ever increasing role in the implementation of party policy and in the accomplishment of economic and ideological educational tasks and closely link the party with the masses. The CPSU Central Committee attaches great importance to the increase of their role as the leading force and political nucleus of labor collectives and to the firm establishment in this party unit of the Leninist style of work. The decisions of the 26th party congress, the November (1982) and June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenums are aimed at this.

The varied activity of primary party organizations also includes work with documents. The good organization of this matter promotes the more systematic performance of organizing, ideological and all intraparty work and makes it possible to set up the effective monitoring and checking of execution, punctual informing and reporting.

Until recently the primary party organizations were guided by the Instructions on Work With Documents, which were approved in 1974. However, it was not always possible to find in them exhaustive answers to the new questions raised by life. The need arose to make the appropriate adjustments in the Instructions, to bring some provisions of the work with documents in primary party organizations in line with the aims of the party at the tightening up of discipline and the increase of organization and efficiency.

THE NEW INSTRUCTIONS ON WORK WITH DOCUMENTS IN PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS WERE APPROVED BY THE DECREE OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF 16 AUGUST 1983. THEY GO INTO EFFECT ON 1 JANUARY 1984.

The new Instructions, while retaining the fundamental provisions of the prevailing Instructions, take into account the increased demands on party documents, which have been set forth in recent years in the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee, and rely on the gained experience of organizing work

locally. The refinements, changes and additions, which have been made in them, the inclusion of new sections, as well as the more precise systematization of the previously existing ones are aimed at the further improvement of the work with documents and letters of the working people in the local party units. The basic rules of the work with documents in not only the primary, but also the shop party organizations and party groups are set forth in the sections of the Instructions. The observance of their requirements presumes a qualitatively higher level of the management of the party system, the tightening up of the monitoring and checking of execution and the increase of the responsibility for the preservation of documents.

The responsibility for work with documents and their preservation is assigned to the secretary of the primary (shop) party organization (party committee, party bureau). In case of a change of the secretary of the primary party organization (party committee, party bureau) the documents are turned over to the newly elected secretary in accordance with the certificate, in this case one copy of the certificate is sent in no later than 7 days to the appropriate rayon or city party committee, while the other copy is kept in the files of the party organization. Along with the documents the stamp regarding the payment of membership dues is turned over in accordance with the certificate. Taking into account the wishes from the provinces, the Instructions specify that the duties on the recording, drawing up and sending of documents can be assigned to the deputy secretary of the primary (shop) party organization (party committee, party bureau) or to one of the members of the party committee (party bureau).

It is envisaged that all the conditions, which ensure the preservation of party documents, would be created in the primary and shop party organizations. They should be stored separately from official memoranda, certificates and reports of the enterprise, organization, institution. Moreover, the documents are formed into files in both the primary and the shop organization. A model list of files is cited in the Instructions, but subject to the composition and number of documents their number at the discretion of the secretary of the party organization (party committee, party bureau) can be changed.

More clearly stated provisions on the composing and drawing up of documents of the party organization are of considerable importance. They contain, in particular, recommendations on the lettering of the heading and the document itself, the drawing up of the date of the signing of the document and of the appendices to it, if they exist.

The consistent observance of the Leninist principles and norms of party life is an indispensable condition of the successful activity of every primary and shop party organization. Their specific embodiment is manifested most completely at party meetings, conferences and sittings of the party committee and party bureau. And it is a very responsible task to record in documents collective creative thought. Therefore the section "Documents of Party Meetings, Conferences, Sittings of Party Committees, Party Bureaus" is envisaged in the Instructions.

As is known, minutes are the most important party document. In the Instructions, on the basis of established practice, the provisions, which are

connected with the drawing up of the minutes of party meetings, the sittings of party committees and party bureaus, are made more precise, the more complete reflection in them of the necessary information is envisaged. Thus, in the minutes of the party meeting it is necessary to indicate: the number of the minutes, the name of the party organization and the date of the meeting; the number of members and candidate members of the CPSU who are registered, as well as who were present and absent at the meeting; the surnames, initials and positions of the representatives of superior party organizations and the speakers; the surnames and initials of the people, who were elected to the presidium, or the chairman and secretary of the meeting, if a presidium was not elected; the agenda. There are included in the minutes in chronological sequence with respect to each question of the agenda: a short record of the basic points of the report (if its text is not appended to the minutes) and the statements in the discussion with the indication of the surnames, the initials and the positions held by the speakers; the adopted decrees and the results of the voting.

The peculiarities in compiling the minutes of the meetings and conferences, which are held to hear reports and elect new officials, as well as of open party meetings and meetings by shifts are taken into account. In particular, in the minutes of the open party meeting the number of nonparty people present is additionally indicated; it is noted, whether the speakers in the discussion are members or candidate members of the CPSU. It is specified that in case of the holding of a party meeting by shifts general minutes, which consist of a title page, the minutes of the meetings in the shifts, the text of the report and the adopted decree, are drawn up. There are indicated on the title page: the number of the minutes and the date of the meeting; the number of members and candidate members of the CPSU, who are registered and were present at the meetings in all the shifts; the agenda and the overall result of the voting. The title page and the decree of the meeting, which was held by shifts, are certified by the signature of the secretary of the party committee (party bureau).

In the practice of party life the need arises at times to discuss one question or another at a joint meeting of the communists of several organizations. In this connection the Instructions specify that in the minutes of a joint meeting of communists of several party organizations, in addition to the basic data, the number of communists present from each party organization is indicated. The number of copies of the minutes is determined in accordance with the number of party organizations, the communists of which took part in the meeting. In each party organization its own next ordinal number is assigned to the minutes of the joint meeting.

Additions have been introduced in the procedure of drawing up the minutes of the sitting of the party committee (party bureau). There are indicated in it: the number of the minutes and the date of the sitting; the surnames of the member of the party committee (party bureau), who was the chairman, and the members who were present, as well as the representatives of superior party organs. The adopted decrees are included in the minutes. The surnames of those who spoke on the question being discussed are indicated under the heading of the decree. A short record of the basic theses of the reports and statements of the meeting participants is cited as needed. It is also

specified that the minutes, which are drawn up with allowance made for the demands which are made on the minutes of the sitting of the party committee (party bureau), are kept at the sitting of the council of the secretaries of the party organizations of the production association.

In due course, as the tasks in the activity of primary party organizations become more complicated, the question of the authority of party decisions acquires particular urgency. Cases, when the decrees of party organizations are prepared hastily, are still encountered, frequently the wordings are copied mechanically from the documents of superior party organs. At times the decisions are poorly reasoned and abstract and do not contain practical recommendations. The requirements with respect to the improvement of the quality of the preparation of decrees are formulated in the Instructions. The decrees of party meetings, conferences and party committees (party bureaus) should be well-founded and specific, should specify clearly the steps on the accomplishment of the set tasks and should name those responsible for their implementation and the date of fulfillment. In necessary instances the people, to whom the monitoring of the fulfillment of the decree is assigned, are also indicated.

In practical work many party committees and the bureaus of the primary party organizations send their decrees to the shop organizations, which they concern, and to the immediate performers. In the Instructions it is stipulated that the party committee (party bureau) of the primary party organization, as well as the party committee of the shop party organization determine the procedure of the registration, sending out and return of their decrees. The registration of the decrees being sent out and the monitoring of their return are carried out in accordance with record cards, a sample of which is given in the appendix to the Instructions. The observance of this rule will make it possible to regulate the handling of documents of the party organization and to increase the responsibility for their preservation.

The implementation of the directives of the party and government is an important political and organizing function of the primary party organizations. In recent times a number of steps on the improvement of the monitoring and checking of fulfillment have been taken by the CPSU Central Committee. Commissions for carrying out the monitoring of the activity of the administration and the work of the staff have been set up in the primary party organizations. A new section, in which the demands on the organization of the monitoring of the fulfillment of the decrees of superior party organs, as well as party meetings (conferences), the party committee and the party bureau; the realization of the critical remarks and suggestions of communists; the examination of other documents on questions, which require settlement or a response, are formulated, has been included in the Instructions.

It is natural that different forms and methods of the monitoring and checking of fulfillment are used subject to the specific conditions in the primary organizations. Therefore the steps on the organization of the fulfillment of the decree of a superior party organ are specified by the secretary of the party organization (party committee, party bureau), and in necessary instances by the decree of the party meeting (party committee, party bureau).

The primary party organization (party committee, party bureau) specifies the procedure of monitoring the fulfillment of the adopted decisions. The duty of ensuring the timely and complete fulfillment of the decrees of party meetings (conferences), the party committee and the party bureau is assigned to the party committee, the party bureau and the secretary of the party organization. They carry out the systematic monitoring and checking of the actual fulfillment and regularly inform the communists about the achieved results. For the purpose of regulating this work control cards can be drawn up for the decrees which contain specific assignments and missions, which is used extensively in practice locally.

The duty of reviewing the received documents, which require a decision or response, within the established periods is stipulated by the Instructions. The secretary of the party organization (party committee, party bureau) specifies them. Documents without established dates of fulfillment are reviewed, as a rule, in no more than a month. A note on the fulfillment of the document is made on the document itself and on the record card or log, samples of which are also appended to the Instructions. If necessary, as happens in practice, a memorandum is drawn up. It is established that the report of the secretary of the party organization (party committee, party bureau) on the fulfillment of the decree of the superior party organ is submitted within the time specified by this organ. It should contain information on the timeliness and completeness of the fulfillment of the decree and the actual data which characterize the achieved results. The number and date of the decree of the superior party organ are indicated below the heading of the report.

The provision of the Instructions, which is connected with the realization of the suggestions and critical remarks of communists, is of fundamental importance. The party committee, the party bureau and the secretary of the party organization should take into account and generalize the suggestions and critical remarks, which have been made at party meetings (conferences), should organize the monitoring of their realization and should systematically inform the communists about the taken steps. The report on the work on the realization of the suggestions and remarks of communists, which has been reviewed at a party meeting or a sitting of the party committee (party bureau), is included in the minutes. So that the suggestions and remarks of communists on questions, which require review in superior party organs, would be implemented as quickly as possible, the secretary of the party organization (party committee, party bureau) in no longer than a 7-day period notifies the rayon and city party committee about these suggestions and remarks.

The prime role in the campaign for purity in the party ranks is being assigned to the primary party organizations. On the basis of the strict observance of the Leninist norms and principles they perform purposeful work on selection for the party, the development of the initiative and activeness of communists and the increase of their vanguard role, responsibility and discipline. In the Instructions the rules of the drawing up of materials on admission to the party and the review of the personal files of communists are formed into an independent section. The requirements with respect to the drawing up of decrees of the party meeting and the party committee, the extracts from them on admission as members of the CPSU and candidate members of the CPSU and the review of the personal files of communists are specified in

them. All the materials on admission to the party, as well as of the personal file of the communist, if it should be reviewed by the rayon and city committee of the party, are submitted to the rayon and city party committee no later than 7 days after the adoption of the decree by the meeting or the party committee of the primary party organization.

The primary party organizations are called upon to create in the labor collectives a healthy moral and psychological climate, an atmosphere which promotes the development of frank comradely criticism and self-criticism. The communists and working people turn to the party organization on the most different questions and send their suggestions, letters and requests. The responsibility of the secretary of the party organization for the work with the letters and oral appeals of the working people is stressed in the Instructions. He specifies the days and hours of the receiving of visitors. Moreover, the reception is held at hours which are convenient for the working people.

In the Instructions the procedure of reviewing the letters and oral appeals of the working people is specified more clearly. The time of their review is calculated from the moment of receipt at the party organization (the date of registration). But in those instances when the making of an additional study is required, the period of review of a letter can be extended by the secretary of the party organization (party committee, party bureau), about which the author is informed. If the letter was received from a superior party organ, the period of its review can be extended only with the permission of this organ. Moreover, the sending of letters for review to the people, against whose actions a complaint is being lodged, is not permitted. For every written or oral appeal an exhaustive written or oral response to all the questions posed by him is given to the author within the established period. Here if the author of the appeal is informed about the proposed steps on the settlement of the posed questions, it is subject to monitoring until the complete implementation of the outlined steps.

For the purposes of the better organization of office work the rules of the registration and movement of arriving correspondence, the systematization and storage of different types of documents of the party organization are elaborated in greater detail in the Instructions. The documents received by the primary party organizations are registered on record cards or in a log. This rule now also applies to the shop party organizations which have a party committee. The documents of shop party organizations and party groups, which have been received by the party committee (party bureau) of the primary party organization, are also liable to registration. The secretary of the party organization (party committee, party bureau) or his deputy is permitted as needed to receive the documents of the rayon and city party committee, which are addressed to the primary party committee.

After the review of the received documents by the secretary of the party organization (party committee, party bureau) the content of the assignments on their fulfillment is entered on the record cards or in the log. The turning over of documents for fulfillment to the members of the party committee (party bureau) or other communists is carried out by signing for them on the record cards or in the log.

Additions with respect to the registration and drawing up of outgoing documents have been introduced in the Instructions. On them it is indicated without fail, to whom they are addressed. Here the document, which is being sent to a party organ, is addressed not to one worker or another, but to the appropriate party committee. In the reference for a member or candidate member of the CPSU it is indicated, to what institution it is being sent, by whom it was approved, the number and date of the minutes. The outgoing documents are signed by the secretary and, in his absence, by the deputy secretary of the party organization (party committee, party bureau). The next outgoing number and the date are written on the document being sent out and its copy.

The party system of the primary organization should be maintained in exemplary condition. This concerns both the documents, which are to be turned over to the party archive, and the documents of temporary storage. The list of the primary and shop party organizations, the documents of which are to be turned over to the party archive, is approved by the rayon and city party committee. The Instructions specify the procedure of the systematization of the documents of the party organization, the rules of the formation of files in conformity with their list and the preparation of materials for delivery to the archive. The composition of the documents, which are to be turned over for permanent storage from the primary party organizations, is specified. Among them are: the minutes of party meetings (conferences) and sittings of the party committee (party bureau) together with the the materials which have a direct bearing on the discussed questions; documents on the fulfillments of the decrees of party meetings (conferences) and the party committee (party bureau).

The desires of the secretaries of the party organizations on the change of the periods of storage of document materials have been taken into account. A period of storage in the primary and shop party organizations of 2-3 years has been established for the documents which are to be turned over to the party archive. The period of storage of documents in the primary and shop party organizations, which do not turn over materials to the archive, is specified as 3 years.

Party groups are one of the numerous units of the party, which have an effective influence on the life of their collectives. The recommendations on the management of the party system in them, which are set forth in the Instructions, reflect the established practice. In the party group, as a rule, a diary of the party group organizer is kept. A list of the members and candidate members of the CPSU, information on the party meetings, the distribution of public assignments, the suggestions and critical remarks of communists, as well as other data, which are necessary for the work of the party group, are included in it.

The practice, which envisages in case of the holding of a meeting of the party group to hear reports and elect new officials the drawing up of minutes, which are registered with allowance made for the rules established for the primary and shop party organizations, has also been sanctioned. Here, if the election of the party group organizer and his deputy was carried out by open vote, the results of the vote are indicated in the minutes. As the need requires the minutes of other meetings can also be drawn up in the party group. The party group organizer ensures the preservation of the documents of the

party group, which, after the need passes, with the consent of the secretary of the party organization (party committee, party bureau) are destroyed.

Such are the basic additions and changes, which have been introduced in the Instructions. In the end the matter reduces to the creation of a well operating system of the management of party office work, which completely eliminates cases of deficiencies and oversights in the work with documents. For this it is necessary to analyze thoroughly the existing practice of working with documents in the primary and shop party organizations and party groups and to bring it in line with the new requirements of the Instructions. The streamlining of office work is called upon to promote the improvement of the style of work in the basic unit of the party.

The preparation for putting the new Instructions into effect is under way in the party organizations. The main attention is focused on the detailed study of the Instructions and the nature of the additions and changes, which have been introduced in them. It is important not only to know the provisions of the Instructions, but also to follow them skillfully in practical matters. Moreover, this concerns the secretaries of the primary and shop party organizations, the aktiv, as well as the workers of the party staff. Those party committees, which are holding instructional conferences and seminars, have prepared procedural materials to aid the secretaries of the party and shop organizations and the party group organizers and have given assistance in preparing the necessary record and control documents, which are envisaged by the Instructions, are acting properly. In this matter there can be no trivial things, here everything is important. The task is to preserve all the best things which the practice of working with documents provides, to improve the style of activity of the primary party organizations and to increase the level of organization and responsibility in work in light of the instructions of the November (1982) and June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenums.

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NATIONAL

TRUST IN ABILITIES, ENTHUSIASM OF YOUNG PEOPLE URGED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Nov 83 p 1

[Editorial by L. Gushchin, editor for youth affairs of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Education Through Trust"]

[Excerpts] I am looking for a young director, age 30 to 35, capable, energetic and determined. I have been looking for a long time, for more than a year already--and I run into one infrequently. Could it be that this impression is subjective? But no. I call the union ministries--the Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, and the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy--there are really only a few young directors, a few individuals in large industries.

But previously, you know, one encountered such examples more often; many of those who today by right occupy a place among the aces of the most difficult post of production leaders began precisely at this age. I remember there were even columns in youth newspapers: "Your age cohort in the director's chair". Gradually the columns, too, disappeared from the pages--not quite enough aspirants.

Of course, during the past few years has become different in many respects--engineering and technology have significantly improved, intraproduction relations have become immeasurably more complicated, and in connection with this higher requirements for the mastery of scientific management are presented. There have also been changes in the very conditions in which the youth is formed. It is now growing up in conditions which are, without a doubt, more favorable. You must agree that today the necessity for the early self-determination of the personality is not so keen, one rarely encounters extremal situations that, within a short moment, are capable of illuminating in young people the qualities necessary for a leader, a director.

But there is also no question about another thing--the present generation is more educated and has a broader horizon. It is strong and also ambitious.

"The young generation is in no way worse than ours, it is only different and new," said comrade Yu. V. Andropov in a speech in a meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with veterans of the party. And new generations are not reproduced like copies on a duplicating machine. Every one of them, of necessity basing

itself on the experience of the preceding generation, assesses and masters the world in its own way, bringing new methods and means to creative activity, adjusting to the conditions and circumstances of its time."

This means that the task of the old consists in helping the young people to find their position in life, to choose the correct path in it, to develop in themselves the feeling of being the master of the country, the full and equal heir of all the material and moral riches of their Fatherland. They need to develop in themselves the need, if necessary, to go ahead, to go where things are more difficult, to lead people. All of these qualities can be formed only in a concrete deed, they must be tested and tempered in conjunction with work that is really necessary to society.

Why do we talk in such detailed fashion about trust as the most important means for the education of youth? Above all because by far not all who are involved in work with young people have an understanding of this principal proposition. And because one encounters facts of another sort. Frequently there are still cases of petty guardianship, of fear of entrusting complex and responsible matters to young people. There are instances of attempts by economic managers to use the youthful enthusiasm only for patching up gaps in their own work, called forth by basic mismanagement in production. If young people encounter such cases a few times--and the fire of the young hearts sometimes goes out, there already is no such enthusiasm.

If you talk about young people with party and economic administrators of various levels, you only sigh at times. No, by far not always and everywhere do young men and women hasten to rise up to the most difficult section, not too often and too loudly do they knock on the doors of the director's office and the party committee, give us something big, we want to prove ourselves. And the Komsomol leaders at times are guilty of the same sin--they only come to the director with requests: Pay this and allow that. But with proposals of concrete action--oh, how rarely.

But is there any point in being surprised and in complaining about the cases of insufficient activity and initiative of the young people that still occur? Let us rather ponder where, and in what stage the fervor in young men and women, the desire to be in front, to lead people, is sometimes extinguished. Perhaps everything begins already in the pioneer detachment, where often the main functioning person in all meetings was the teacher? Or in the upper classes of the school, where all manifestations of the initiative and independence of the Komsomol organization took place only within the framework and instructions of the director of the school? But perhaps everything began in the study and production combine, where what had been made by the hands of the students did not find application? Or the basis for indifference was laid in the enterprises, where questions raised by the young people were left hanging in the air since the representatives of the administration and party organization simply did not find time to attend Komsomol meetings?

It happens that at times in the bustle of measures the most important thing is forgotten--the young people and their interests, little concern is shown about the professional growth and the civil development of young men and women.

When a young person is accepted into the party, a recommendation of his primary party organization is necessary. Why is such a recommendation often not obligatory when a Komsomol member is promoted to more responsible work? Why do the Komsomol committees not make use of their right to broad initiative in the promotion of young people to leading positions? And do the numerous councils of young scientists and specialists frequently manifest such initiative?

Alas, such cases are still not frequent, and it is not only the Komsomol organizations which are guilty here, but also some party committees, who are used to make use of the Komsomol only in mass measures.

We cannot but be concerned about the hands into which tomorrow will fall what has been gained and achieved through much suffering by preceding generations of soviet people, and this means that already today, now, we are obligated to train these young people and, perhaps, hands not too skillful as yet for difficulty and responsibility, ~~but~~ flirting with the young people, not making the path that lies ahead easier, but trusting them fully and asking them with the principled approach of the party.

The school of practical experience is not simple, at times it is severe, in all cases it is difficult to predict its 100-percent positive result. But it is urgently necessary since it determines the conviction of our view of the future.

8970
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NATIONAL

KIRGHIZ HEAD OF MVD JUVENILE DEPARTMENT PRAISES FILM ON ROOTS OF DELINQUENCY

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 4 Dec 83 p 4

[Article by Kirghiz SSR MVD Juvenile Delinquency Department Chief S. Adushkin:
"Be Prompt With Good"]

[Text] The showing of the movie "Patsany" [Kids] (Lenfil'm) has become a social event. The movie has been showing in the theaters of the capital city for some weeks now, and there are still lines at box offices.

Below we publish viewers' responses to the new film.

The screen is dark, the theater is empty, but I keep going back in my mind over the movie "Patsany." Who are they, these juvenile delinquents? Where do such people as Zaytsev, Kireyev, and others like them come from in our society?

Studying the causes of juvenile delinquency, one comes to the conclusion that almost half of the delinquents live and are brought up in homes where parents get drunk, quarrel, and fight in their presence. In a troubled home atmosphere, natural feelings of respect and love are replaced by hatred and alienation, which directly influence the shaping of children's negative qualities.

...Two adolescents, Salov and Narimanov, had been drinking and savagely beat up a random passer-by.

"That day," they explain, "we drank three bottles of wine. And why not? We were celebrating a birthday."

To the adolescent Salov, in fact, the use of alcoholic beverages did not seem unnatural. How could it have been otherwise, when his father was always getting drunk at home and, when hung over, would "educate" his son with his fists? "I saw my own parents very rarely," says Narimanov, "and at that mainly at the table when, having returned from seasonal work, they held noisy celebrations with lots of drinking. So I left home."

If the link between adolescents' unlawful behavior and an atmosphere of open drunkenness and vulgarity prevailing in some homes where they are brought up is quite evident, it is much more difficult to understand what prompted the breaking of a law or even the commission of a crime on the part of an adolescent who has grown up in a home where everything seems to be well, no quarrels

in front of the son or daughter, no complaints from neighbors, no visits from the militia.

It seems to me that this happens most frequently in homes where parents are too lavish and children grow up with everything handed to them, not having to work, accustomed from childhood to demand every good thing without even noticing.

Many episodes in the film seem to draw parallels with situations which one often encounters in real life. Or, more accurately, life itself can provide true examples for the plot.

...Aleksey Yur'yev and Vitaliy Stepanov began to drink at an early age, left school, and did nothing. Frequently they would beat up on younger kids and demand money. While intoxicated, they committed a crime.

The boys grew up badly pampered, accustomed to live without labor or cares. They acquired designer jeans and stereo tape players as soon as they wished. Their parents did not take the trouble to get jobs for them, "let the boys relax before going into the army," and took no interest in where or how they spent their time.

I have deliberately changed the family names of the adolescents. They have been given the punishment they deserved, also their parents. In citing these examples, I should like once more to emphasize that it is in the home that the adolescent first acquires experience in human interaction and assimilates the norms and rules of behavior that are accepted there.

It is very important that the authors of the film, in recounting the story of "difficult" juveniles and showing some of their parents, are focusing attention on what shortcomings in home upbringing can lead to. One wishes to cry out to the grandmother who offers her grandson a cigarette "Stop!", to the father visiting his son at camp in an intoxicated condition "Look, this is your son, he has learned a great deal and can still do much!"

I should like to appeal to all adults: "Don't pass by a boy in trouble, give him a helping hand in time, do everything you can to get him out of a bad environment. Otherwise, what happens may be irretrievable."

The final frames of 'Patsany.' Mentor Antonov and others are running after Kireyev to stop him from killing his father. One hopes the tragedy will not take place, the tragedy with the boy. But sorrow has already struck, for Kireyev's sister Margo has tried to end her life with suicide. And this need not have happened....

Why did no one help this girl who had done so much for her brother? Why did no one protect her from her drunken father? Could one even call the father a human being, this man who drank away everything he could--goods, money, conscience, his duty to his children? It was well known, after all, that the elder Kireyev's children frequently were away from home at night, that they could not buy even the most vital essentials, yet no measures were taken

against this sorry excuse for a father. The result: children crippled by their fate.

And there was another idea I got from "Patsany." Much in the shaping of the adolescent's personality depends on the home, the school, society, and close friends, but adolescents themselves must answer for their every act.

"Forgive us, Pasha," they plead with Antonov after having wreaked havoc in camp. "I won't forgive you," Antonov answers angrily. Nor do I believe they will be forgiven by the grain farmer whose labor they have trampled into the ground or the young people whose honor and trust they have desecrated. Forgiveness must be earned, earned by labor. How their future life will shape up, how they can earn trust and respect in society, must be determined by these "kids"--and I don't mean just the heroes of the film.

I have deliberately refrained from writing about Antonov. "Kids" need such people, that's certain. Work with difficult juveniles involves considerable moral effort, effort of will, it requires tact, stamina, faith in success, and love--love for children who have turned out "delinquent." But children always answer good with good. A juvenile needs a friend, needs a person (as Antonov puts it) with whom he can deal on intimate terms, to whom he can turn in times of trouble.

6854
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NATIONAL

GEORGIAN METHODS OF STUDYING, FORMING PUBLIC OPINION PRAISED

[Editorial Report] Moscow AGITATOR No 22, Nov 83 carries on pages 43-46 a 2,200-word article entitled "Studying and Molding Public Opinion." The unsigned article declares that in molding public opinion lecturers and agitators must adapt the information published by All-Union sources to local conditions. "...the contradictions between 'official' and 'unofficial' views are greatest where the former does not receive sufficient reinforcement by grounding it on the material of local conditions." "The experience of the Georgian Communist Party's Central Committee with its council on the study of public opinion is widely known. With its help party organizations have conducted studies on the essence, reasons for the spread of, and means of eradicating the private ownership mentality. They have studied the causes of the persistence of patriarchal and bourgeois ceremonies and traditions, and the problems of inculcating internationalist views in the republic. As a result serious corrective measures in political education work have been taken, which have brought about improvement in the moral and psychological climate in the labor collectives and in living places."

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REGIONAL

UKRAINE TU COUNCIL NOTES DEFECTS IN WORK PERFORMANCE

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 18 Nov 83 p 3

[Article entitled: "To Improve the Style of Work, Be Organizers of the Masses: From the Plenum of the Ukrainian Republic Council of Trade Unions"]

[Text] Questions of the work of the soviets and the trade union committees of the republic in connection with the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Work of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Workers in Heavy Machine Building" and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine "On the Work of the Ukrainian Trade Union Council on Increasing the Role of the Trade Union Organizations in the Realization of the Tasks of Economic and Social Development" were discussed at the Plenum of the Ukrainian Republic Council of Trade Unions, which was held on 16 November 1983. An address was delivered by V. A. Sologub, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, chairman of the Ukrainian Trade Union Council.

The participants of the Plenum analyzed the activity of the trade unions in an exacting and self-critical manner in the light of the demands advanced by the party during the contemporary stage. In the report and in the speeches it was noted that the councils and committees of the trade unions, being guided by the decisions of the 26th Congress of the party, the November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the instructions of comrade Yu. V. Andropov, are increasing the role and responsibility of the trade union organizations, their active involvement, are developing initiatives with respect to the involvement of the workers in the administration of production, and the solution of social problems, with respect to the improvement of the organization of socialist competition, education among the workers, kolkhoz farmers, and employees with a conscientious and honest attitude toward work.

At the same time, the style and methods of the work of the councils and committees of the trade unions require essential improvement. Many of them spend a significant amount of time in the conduct of various sessions, the preparation of decrees, and information, moreover frequently to the detriment of organizational and educational work at the local level. The executives of some trade union councils have still not been permeated by a feeling of high party responsibility for the business entrusted to them.

Trade union workers, said P. I. Ivanov, brigade leader of the milling-machine operators of the Kiev Arsenal Plant imeni V. I. Lenin, laureate of the State Prize of the UkrSSR, spend a lot of time on the composition of all sorts of reports, the writing of information items and other papers. At times they never talk with people, listen to their requests and suggestions, and to extend practical assistance on the scene. Evidently, in the chain from the Ukrainian Trade Union Council to the trade union group there are weak links. The duty of the trade union workers to stand closer to production, to the needs and concerns of the labor collectives was the subject discussed also in the speeches of G. A. Sirota, chairman of the Crimean Oblast Trade Union Council, S. P. Potashova, member of the trade union apparatus of the Gorlovka "Stirol" Production Association of Donetsk Oblast, and others.

Serious claims were addressed to the republic committee of the trade union of the workers of the metallurgical industry (chairman A. A. Aleksandrov), which does not penetrate deeply into the essence of a matter and allows formalism in the organization of socialist competition. In the obligations of many labor collectives, such important indicators as the fulfillment of production deliveries in accordance with contracts and orders, the strengthening of discipline, and the curtailment of unproductive losses, are absent. In a number of enterprises of the sector the personnel turnover is great, the young people are not retained, and labor collectives are growing old. Not everything is being done by the republic committee of the trade union of the workers of the coal industry (chairman V. I. Shevtsov) in regard to the mobilization of labor collectives in the struggle for an increase in production efficiency, the introduction of the experience of front-rank workers, and the improvement of the housing and living conditions of miners.

The Plenum discussed the unsatisfactory work of the republic committees of the trade unions of the workers in agriculture, geological survey work, state trade and consumer cooperatives, as well as the medical workers, of Zhitomir, Chernigov, Voroshilovgrad and other trade union councils. Moreover, it is not the first time that these industry and oblast subdivisions are being criticized, but they do not draw the requisite conclusions.

In the report and in the speeches of V. N. Vlasenkov, mill operator of the Zaporozhstal' Plant, V. I. Trefilov, chairman of the republic council of scientific-technical societies and vice-president of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences, V. L. Karkovchuk, chairman of the trade union committee of the L'vov Industrial Housing Construction Trust, and many others, it was noted that many trade union organizations are making poor use of their possibilities for the acceleration of scientific-technical progress in the national economy, above all for the development of mass technical creativity of the workers. In a number of oblasts, as well as in enterprises of the ministries of light and food industry, and agriculture, in many construction organizations, the end result of the work of inventors and efficiency experts are low. The republic councils of the Scientific-Technical Societies and the All-Union Society of Inventors and Efficiency Experts do not extend the requisite assistance to the local collectives in the search for reserves for the reduction of manual labor, the introduction of the achievements of science and technology. The experience of the Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Trade Union Council,

which has realized a complex of measures with respect to the development of creative activism of the engineering and technical workers, the cultivation of initiative and a feeling of something new among them, is being disseminated slowly, it was noted at the Plenum.

An important business of the trade union organizations is the concern for the improvement of the organization, norm-setting and payment of labor. Being, along with the economic managers, concerned with the introduction of brigade methods of labor organization, some trade union committees are at times thinking more about the quantitative aspect. The proportion of cost-accounting-based brigades in the enterprises of the Ministry of the Coal Industry, the Ministry of Power and Electrification, the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, and the Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry of the republic is too small. With the connivance of the trade union committees, wage-levelling is being permitted in part of the enterprises in the payment of the labor of brigade members and in the distribution of bonuses.

The main speaker and those who took part in the discussion devoted a significant place to questions of the further strengthening of discipline--state, plan, labor and production discipline. Having noted the necessity of increasing the demands on trade union organizations and groups with respect to the state of discipline in shops, sections and brigades, O. Ya. Perekhrest, a grinder of the Dnepropetrovsk Combine Plant, related how these questions are decided in the enterprise. The toilers of the plant broadly supported the initiative of the best trade union group organizers of the Dnepropetrovsk area to fight for the title "Trade Union Group--Without Laggards and Violators of Discipline". Now 236 trade union groups are included in this movement, and in the majority of them there are no laggards and violators of discipline.

The councils and committees of the trade unions, it was said in the speeches, still do not manifest the necessary insistence in the solution of questions connected with the creation of the requisite conditions for work and rest, and the sanitation facilities for the workers. Not always do they react, as they should, to instances of the stoppage in plans of housing construction, the building of pre-school institutions and other public and domestic service projects, of violations in the distribution of housing. The increased role of the trade unions in the solution of social problems was discussed in the speeches of R. D. Poltavets, chairman of the trade union committee of the Pravdin Lenina Kolkhoz of the Velikotugarhansk Rayon of Poltava Oblast, T. N. Kravchenko, chairman of the Bryansk Oblast Trade Union Council, Z. T. Milyutina, teacher at the Kharkov Secondary School No 8, and others.

During the past few years, significant work has been carried out in the republic in regard to the strengthening of the trade unions with cadres. In the future, too, it was emphasized at the Plenum, it is necessary to advance for trade union work capable, trained activists, who have gone through schooling in the local links.

A. A. Titarenko, member of the Politburo, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, spoke at the Plenum. Today's Plenum of the Republic Council, he said, has become a good occasion

to analyze the work of the trade unions of the republic and their leading organs in an exacting and businesslike manner, to exchange opinions about how to increase the fighting capacity of the trade union organizations.

The Central Committee of the CPSU, the Politburo of the Central Committee, and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, comrade Yu. V. Andropov, personally, in realizing the economic and socio-political strategy developed by the party congresses and the Plenums of the Central Committee, are concentrating the efforts of the party and the people on the solution of the primary and long-term tasks of the comprehensive improvement of our developed socialist society.

A. A. Titarenko provided information about the consistent realization, in the country and in the republic, of the decisions of the November (1982) and the June (1983) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, which are aimed at strengthening the economic and defense capacities of our Homeland, at **increasing** the return from the enormous scientific and production potential, the economy of resources, the improvement of the planning and **administration** of the national economy, and the style and methods of the management of all spheres of public life.

In the solution of the worthwhile economic and social tasks, there is a great field of activity for the most mass organization of the workers--the trade unions, to whom the USSR Constitution, the Law on Labor Collectives, and other normative acts grant broad rights and powers. Without a doubt, it was noted in the speeches, the level of the work of the republic and oblast councils, as well as the majority of the trade union committees, has increased in the past few years. But, if the results of their activity are to be assessed from the positions of the demands of the November (1982) and the June (1983) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, taking into account the possibilities at the disposal of the trade unions--and we cannot have another criterion--one cannot but conclude that the reorientation of the style and the methods of their work is proceeding slowly. Some industrial committees and oblast councils lack initiative, persistence, keenness, and self-criticism in the assessment of the state of affairs. Unfortunately, this is not always given principal assessment by the republic council.

It was noted in the speeches that the shortcomings in the style of work of some republic committees and oblast councils of the trade unions have a negative effect on the local trade union links, in particular the primary organizations. This concerns, above all, the organization of socialist competition. Presently one of the urgent tasks is the businesslike organization, in labor collectives, of the work with respect to the acceptance of socialist obligations and counterplans, based on the directions of the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, to properly concentrate the efforts of those who are competing in the solution of key tasks of the five-year-plan and, first of all, on the increase of labor productivity.

Strict order in production and strong discipline constitute an enormous reserve. But in a number of places, A. A. Titarenko underscored, attention to these questions has become weak. In the matter of strengthening socialist

labor discipline and the development of competition, full use must be made of the possibilities of the trade union groups in the production brigades.

We have the right to demand from the trade union organizations a significantly greater activism in the solution of social problems. It is no secret, you know, that some trade union committees manifest a lack of administrative ability when we are talking about labor safety and safety technology, about the organization of public catering, trade, everyday services, medical service, the work of urban transportation, putting the work routine of enterprises and organizations, as well as the service sphere, in good order. All of this concerns the daily needs of our people. And here the Ukrainian Trade Union Council must exact stricter responsibility from the republic committees and the oblast trade union councils.

The reason for many shortcomings, said the author, is to be found in the personnel, in their attitude to their obligations. V. V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, in the discussion of the work of the Ukrainian Trade Union Council at a session of the Politburo of the Central Committee, directed attention to the necessity of seriously improving the work with cadres in the trade unions and to truly increase the exactingness with respect to them.

A. A. Titarenko noted further that the trade unions have at their disposal a huge army of activists--in elected organs alone 2.6 million people, including almost 900,000 communists. We must achieve that everyone of them works with complete efficiency, properly does his work, and is responsible for it. The state of affairs in the trade unions insistently demands from the Ukrainian Trade Union Council, its presidium, secretaries, from all councils and committees of the trade unions that they examine their work more strictly, more exactingly, and more critically, that they conduct a decisive struggle against manifestations of complacency and self-assurance. It is precisely this which the decisions of the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and life demand from us.

The participants of the Plenum completely approved the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and declared their resolve to strengthen the economic and defense capacity of the socialist Homeland.

The Plenum adopted a decree in which concrete measures were outlined for the further improvement of the work of the councils and committees of the trade unions of the republic.

8970
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REGIONAL

PENZA OBLAST CHIEF ON RESPONSIBILITY OF PARTY CADRES

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 December 1983 publishes on pages 1-2 a 2,500-word interview with F. M. Kulikov, first secretary of Penza Obkom. Kulikov discusses the progress of the report and election meetings underway in Penza Oblast. The meetings, he says, are proceeding in an interesting and constructive manner. In the interview Kulikov focuses on what he considers to be the key problem in improving the performance of party organizations and in overcoming bureaucratic inertia, that of raising the personal responsibility of party cadres for decisions and actions taken or avoided. Kulikov notes, for example, that there had been a proliferation of all kinds of commissions and staffs in the oblast's party organizations and that this had resulted in a lack of initiative and evasion of responsibility on the part of the key members of these bodies. To correct this situation, says Kulikov, it was decided to dissolve many of these commissions and staffs and thereby stimulate the personal accountability of party leaders for their sectors of responsibility.

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GOR'KIY OBLAST CHIEF ON RESPONSIBILITY, DISCIPLINE

[Editorial Report] Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 23, December 1983 (signed to press 24 November 1983) publishes on pages 12-17 a 3,000-word article entitled "Increasing Responsibility, Strengthening Executive Discipline" by Yu. Khristoradnov, first secretary of Gor'kiy Obkom. Khristoradnov discusses the performance of party personnel in dealing with the oblast's economic and social tasks and problems. He notes that easygoing and careless attitudes toward fulfilling state plans and tasks are still to be found in places. Khristoradnov admits, for example, that despite great assistance given by the state in strengthening the material and technical resources of agriculture, the oblast was unable to achieve the radical breakthrough hoped for in the social transformation of the village. Among the reasons given by Khristoradnov for this and other shortcomings are a lack of conscientiousness, responsibility, discipline, and organization on the part of cadres. Important tasks, he notes, were often entrusted to people who were untried, barely competent, and incapable of assuring success.

CSO: 1800/218

REGIONAL

MURDERER RECEIVES DEATH SENTENCE IN UKRAINE

[Editorial Report] Kiev RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 12 November 1983 publishes on page 4 a 300-word article entitled "The Fall" by I. Dmytrenko. The article reports that one V. Dyachenko, a former convict, was sentenced to death by the Kharkov Oblast court for the murder of his production brigade chief. In sentencing the perpetrator to an "extraordinary measure of punishment," the article states, the court took into consideration the "extremely low level of labor discipline in the kolkhoz and the absence of appropriate accountability and exactingness for entrusted work on the part of certain kolkhoz workers as well as individual managers." "This is exactly the kind of nourishing soil," the article concludes, "in which all types of transgressors of our morality and laws feel at ease."

CSO: 1811/23

REGIONAL

BRIEFS

UZBEK TRADE UNION COUNCIL MEETS--The Uzbek Council of Trade Unions has met in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, to discuss matters related to participating in the election campaign for the USSR Supreme Soviet. The elections will take place on 4 March. Together with party organizations, the trade unions deem it their duty to encourage workers to participate in state and communal affairs. The trade unions have appointed their representatives to electoral committees. These committees guarantee adherence to laws during the elections. [Text] [GF261859 Tashkent International Service in Uzbek 1700 GMT 25 Dec 83]

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